



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

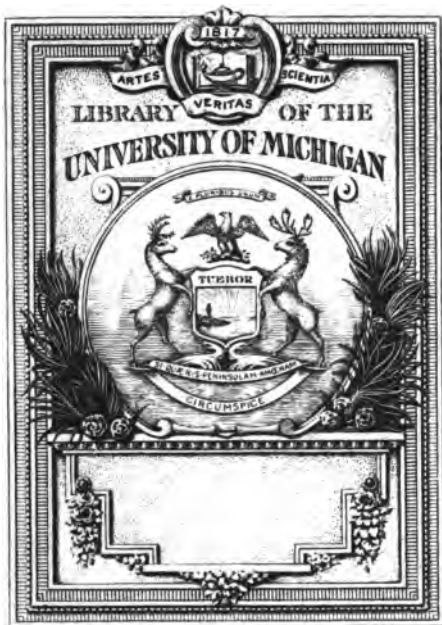
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



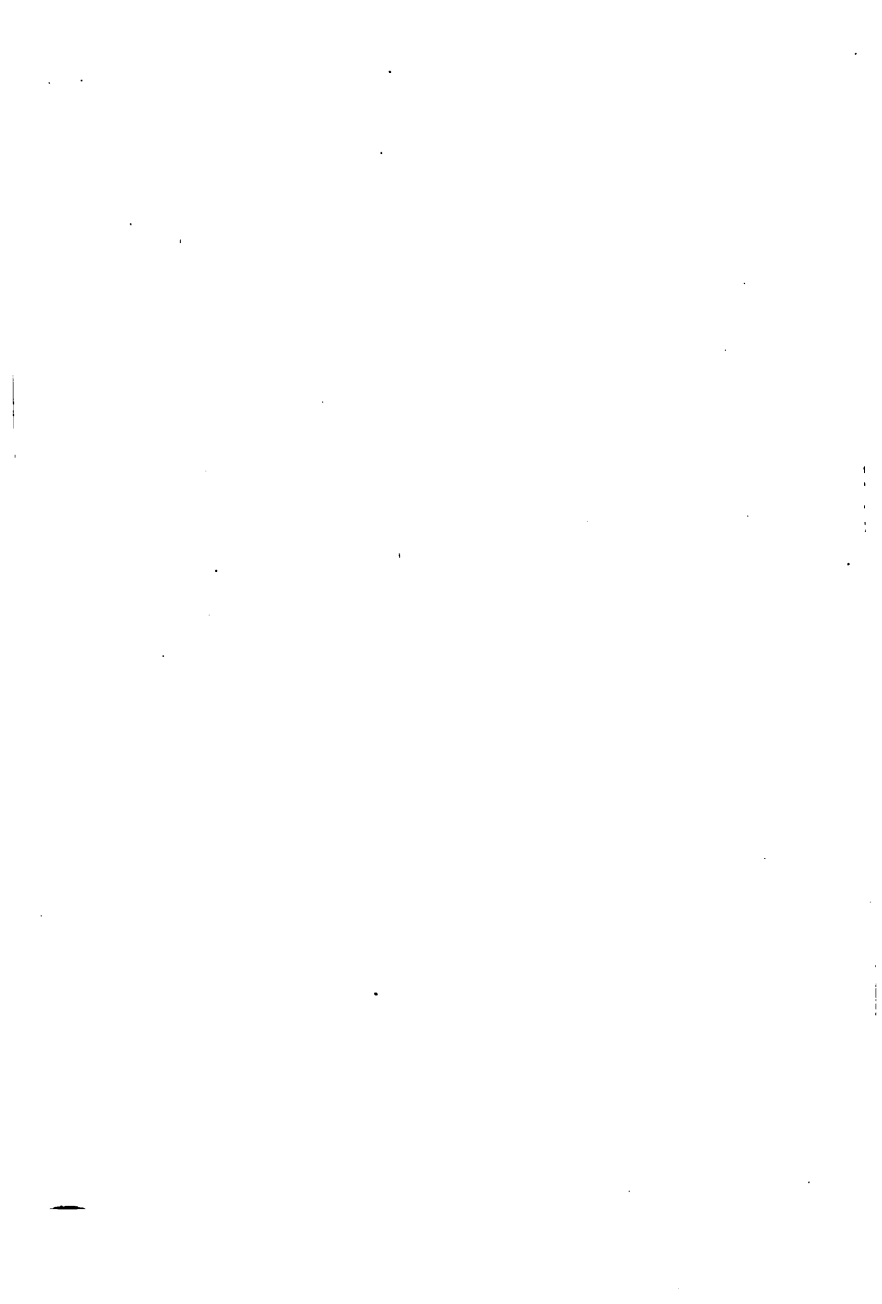
DD

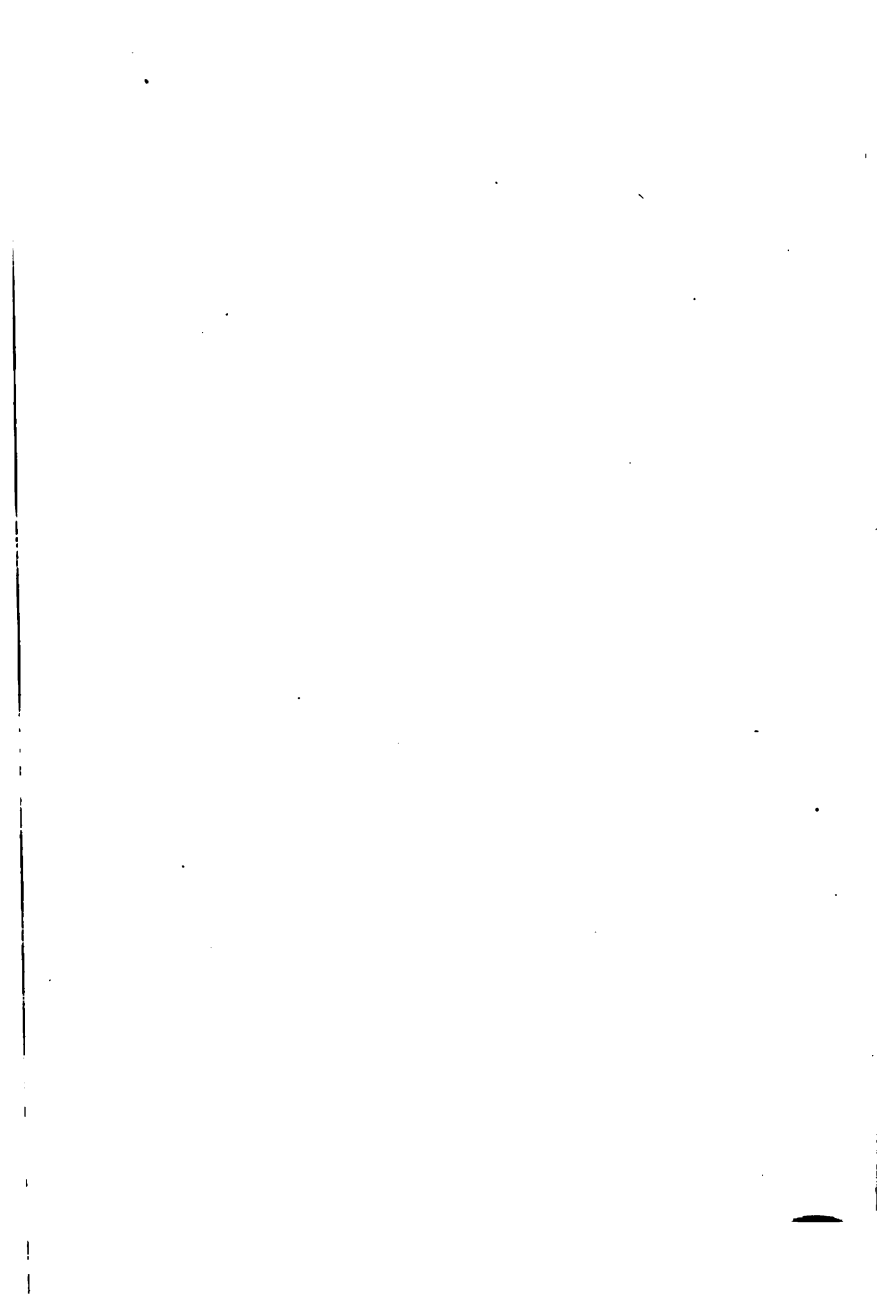
89

E47

V.5

1918





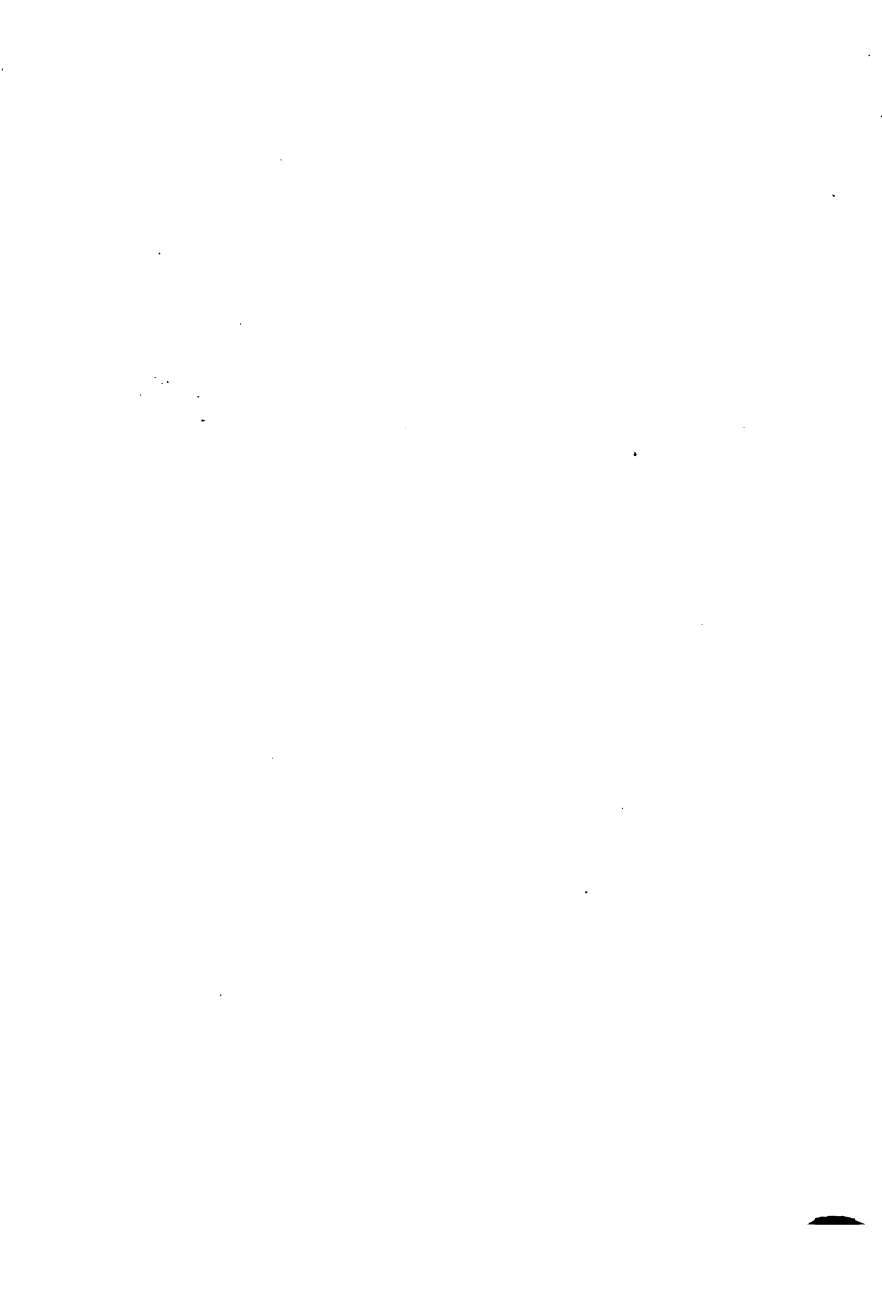


**THE
INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL
LIBRARY**

SECTION ONE

SECOND EDITION







**Martin Luther in the year 1525.
After an original painting of Luke Cranach,
Munich.**

HISTORY

OF THE

GERMAN PEOPLE

**FROM THE FIRST AUTHENTIC
ANNALS TO THE PRESENT TIME**

VOLUME FIVE
The Dawn of the Reformation

Edited by
EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.
and
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER

ILLUSTRATED

1918
The International Historical Society
Incorporated **New York**

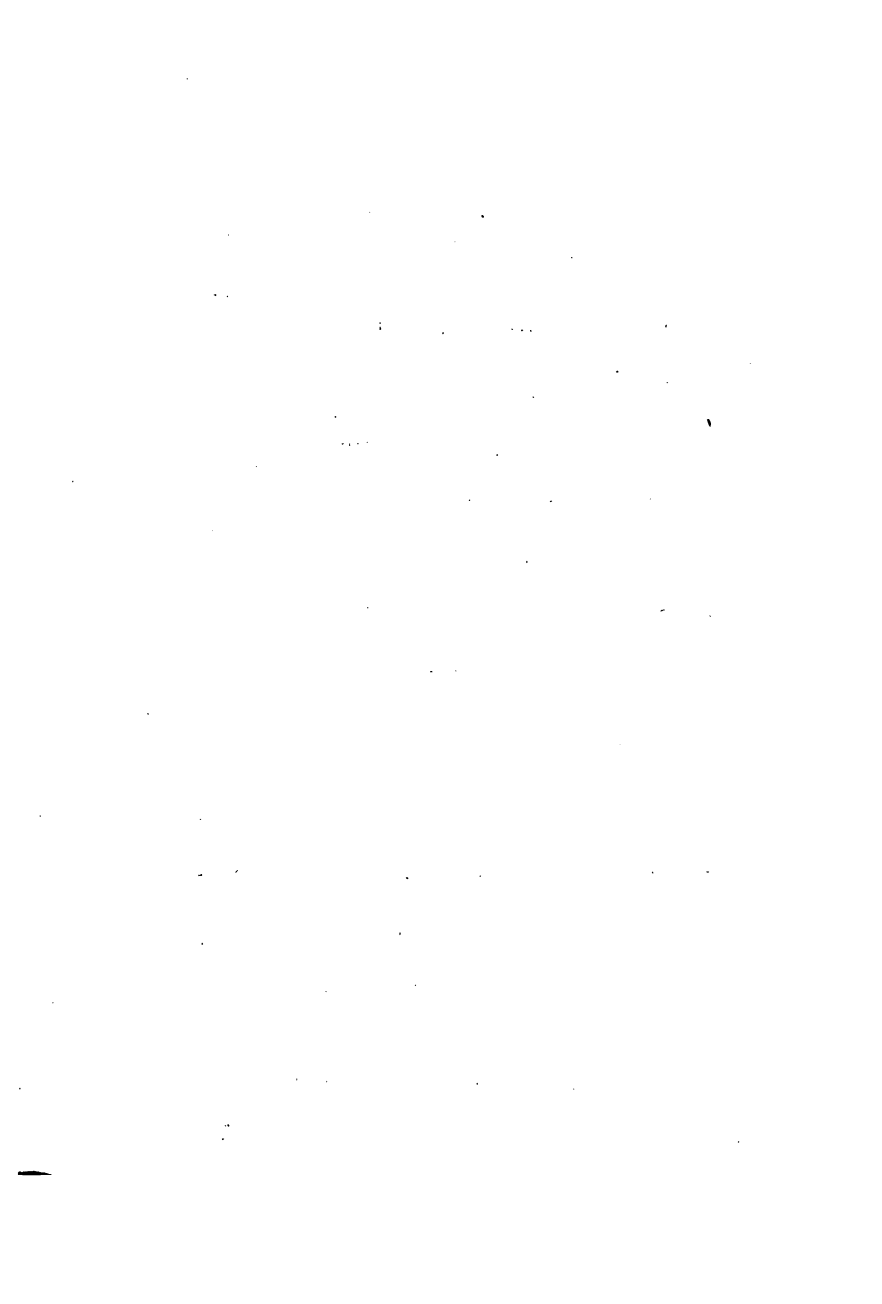
**Copyright, 1916, by
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER**

**THE GUINN & BODEN CO. PRESS
RAHWAY, N. J.**

Ref.-54.
Union Lib. H.S.
10-11-24
89321

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. YOUTH OF THE GREAT REFORMER .	17
II. LUTHER AS A MONK . . .	35
III. THE DISPUTE OVER ABSOLUTION .	45
IV. THE GREAT ISSUE JOINED . . .	57
V. ALLIES AND ENEMIES . . .	87
VI. MARSHALING OF FORCES . . .	123
VII. THE PRELIMINARY CONFLICTS .	141
VIII. A GREAT MONARCH . . .	166
IX. LUTHER BEFORE THE IMPERIAL DIET AT WORMS	189
X. AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE NEW FAITH	256
XI. THE REIGN OF FANATICISM . . .	273
XII. THE STRUGGLE OF MATERIAL INTER- ESTS	299
XIII. SOCIAL-POLITICAL IDEAS AND ASPIRA- TIONS	344



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Martin Luther in the Year 1525. After an Original Painting by Lucas Cranach, Munich.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
Luther at the Diet of Worms	100
Pope Adrian VI. Engraving by Daniel Hopfer	192
Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse. Woodcut by Hans Brosamer. (Engraving Collection at Gotha)	276
Monastery of St. Augustine at Wittenberg Where Luther Resided, and Which the Elector Had Given to Him	320
Francis I of France in the Midst of His Family. Miniature in the Prayer Book of Francis I of Berlin	360



CHAPTER I

YOUTH OF THE GREAT REFORMER

THE Reformation originated on German soil.

It must be remembered, however, that the religious movement was general and by no means confined to the German people, and that besides the frivolity, skepticism or half-Christian philosophy which prevailed during the Renaissance period, particularly in Italy, there was also noticeable deep resentment against the ecclesiastical corruption and strong susceptibility for national sermons on penitence.

While it would not be advisable to compare the religiousness or morality of entire nations with one another, and while we must not try to ascribe to German sincerity and qualities of heart alone the greatest achievement in modern history, or to call too much attention to the depravity and religious indifference of the higher classes in Italy, the fact remains beyond all doubt that only in Germany did Luther's appearance really electrify the largest circles and people of all classes.

It must be presumed that here the susceptibility

and tension had reached the highest degree. There were widely differing motives for the excitement of knights, citizens, peasants, clergymen, laymen, scholars and illiterates of the German nation, but they all listened eagerly to the voice of the Liberator and the long desired word of redemption; everywhere heads and fists were ready for the frequently prophesied decisive combat. Considerable importance is attached to this willingness to fight which was felt throughout the nation and particularly among the lower classes; the enthusiasm was not equaled anywhere else, least of all in Italy, where the great conceit due to power, beauty and genius made the ordinary people appear like supernumeraries, hardly able to realize common suffering and common desires. While a religious movement may start in an atmosphere of depravity, it cannot grow to importance and to power of resistance unless aided by those who carry a heavy burden and feel discouraged. What would have become of the Reformation without the anguish of the mind, the religious fervor and also the bitter hatred against the priesthood, felt by the humble populace?

These circles produced the Reformer. His achievement belongs to humanity, but not a drop of non-German blood flowed in the veins of the mighty man whose features and bearing revealed the true son of the people. Nietzsche, in mentioning the German peasantry, spoke on one occasion of those

people as "our holiest and best national forces"; they seemed to have saved the full amount of their vital fluid for one great personality, and that man did not abuse this capital in favor of any class or nation. Luther loved truth above everything else, and for it he would have been ready to sacrifice not only his own life but also, if necessary, his beloved Germany. What a contrast to the world of the Renaissance! Still it was complemental and may be considered absolutely necessary. He was not an individual distinguished by charm of beauty, not a great lonely thinker, but a hero of his own will, strengthened by a desperate battle with his own heart. This son of a German peasant destroyed the unity of the Church for the purpose of saving his own conscience, but he demolished and unshackled more than he desired and expected. He stood not only as the great Liberator on the threshold of a new era, but also as the discoverer of a new world and a new ideal of life. The immeasurable consequences were as invisible to his eyes as the America of the future was to those of Columbus.

In the course of centuries, his peculiarity left such indelible traces that it is not only permissible but also desirable to look carefully into the details of his early history, as far as they are available. The changes effected by this man and the period during which he lived cannot be reconciled, and mysterious

as the innermost kernel of a developing individuality always remains, the limitations of his genial nature are particularly noticeable in the details furnished about his origin and early environment.

Luther's pride in his good peasant ancestry was well known. Hans Luther, the descendant of an old Thuringian peasant family, was born at Moehra and later moved to Eisleben, where he expected to earn a living as a miner. There his wife Margarethe, whose maiden name was Ziegler, gave birth to his first son, Martin, on the 10th of November, 1483. Soon afterwards the father, a forceful, ambitious man, moved to Mansfeld, a small mining town, where he made his way and became one of the local leaders; being considered an expert in the mining industry he also attracted the attention of Count von Mansfeld. Thus the peasant's son had literally worked himself up to the position of a wealthy, respected citizen and it may be easily understood that, gratified by his own progress, he desired still further advancement for his eldest son. The childhood of Martin Luther was at its hardest period, when his father was still a poor woodchopper and his mother carried the wood on her back from the forest.

In spite of poverty, however, the boy grew up in city-like surroundings and not among peasants. While his sturdy build and great power of resistance against external and internal shocks proved

conclusively that he had the robust health of rural ancestors, he was a city man in all his early recollections and inclinations. It is a well-known fact that he never was partial to peasants; his great admiration for nature and his remark that peasants, without realizing it, lived the same as in paradise among God's creatures, revealed also the city man. Records seem to indicate that he was very careless in selecting his words, and some of his expressions were even called rude; but that was not a peculiarity acquired in the country, since in those days it was customary, even in polite society, to regard coarse and obscene language as "spicy." It is reasonable to suppose that the lack of restraint in passionate speech, and the great stubbornness of this very manly individual, might be an inheritance of the peasant blood. As sunshine plays on the stormy waves of the sea, so fell on Luther's truly Germanic wildness the redeeming ray of a sunny disposition. His heart always remained like that of a child.

This heart was sorely tried during his childhood days. Little Martin experienced his full measure of sufferings identified with youth; as he afterwards remarked and not without pride, it was not the poor mode of living but a too severe mode of education at the home of his parents as well as in school; he claimed that children of the poor developed into handsomer, plumper and more robust adults than the well nourished children of the rich, who looked

thin and yellow. The smallest childish prank and every mistake in school met corrective punishment, which finally had a discouraging effect on the boy, who on one occasion almost revolted against his own father.

Afterwards, as a preacher, Martin described most vividly the danger of such a method of education, in the following words: "If fear gets the better of children it cannot be eradicated throughout life, and people who trembled at hearing the voice of father or mother will always be afraid of a rustling leaf." Later on, terrors of different kinds relegated these impressions to the background, but they remained in the man's soul even long after he had forgotten to know fear by fighting the devil.

During his early days he became familiar with demoniac power. Close to his father's house lived a witch who had murdered a preacher, but Martin's mother treated her with timid kindness because she "threw a spell on the children, who almost cried themselves to death." Uncouth pictures appeared in everyday life, such as Nix, who drags young girls into the water, or the devil's specter in the darkness of the mines, or infernal changelings and monsters. Perhaps the hell and purgatory of the school appeared worse than all the rest to little Martin. In this connection he remarked: "We learned absolutely nothing through so much flogging, trembling, fear and wretchedness." The poor schoolboy was

sent to Magdeburg in 1497, and a year later to Eisenach, where he and his fellow pupils had to sing in front of private houses for their daily bread, so that the accustomed poverty of his existence had only changed in form.

It had frequently been reported that a rich citizen's wife, Ursula Cotta, moved by compassion, at that period raised the boy for the first time into the soothing atmosphere of a care-free and refined existence. She had a saying: "There is nothing lovelier on earth than a woman's love to him who can obtain it." The German text is as follows: "Nichts Lieberes ist auf Erden denn Frauenlieb, wems kann werden." In later years Luther remembered these words and the hospitable house at Eisenach, but the clergy maliciously misconstrued the quotation, although the Reformer simply meant to express respect for the woman and the pure happiness of a true coexistence. The blessings of the cheerful impressions received in his beloved Eisenach contributed undoubtedly to the fact that, "as a lively and jovial young fellow" since 1501 at the university of Erfurt, he combined eager studies for a number of years with modest enjoyment of life and banished the spirit of gloom lurking within him. Luther was thoroughly musical; as a student he learned without the aid of a teacher to play the lute, and his companions appreciated him particularly as a musician. Throughout his life he remained the enthusiastic

follower of an art which had demonstrated to him during many dark hours its wonderfully affecting and healing power. He expressed himself on this subject as follows:

“Hie kann nicht sein ein boeser Mut
Wo da singen Gesellen gut;
Hier bleibt kein Zorn, Zank, Hass noch Neid,
Weichen muss alles Herzeleid.”

A free translation would be:

Here cannot reign a wicked spell
Where all the fellows sing so well;
Here thrives no quarrel, wrath, envy, hate,
And here all suffering must abate.

Humanism at that time brought together a circle of young men at the University of Erfurt who, a little later, under the dominant influence of Mutian, were feared by the opponents of the new culture. Luther formed close connections with these people, and one of the principal writers of the “dark men’s letters” (*Dunkelmännerbriefe*), Crotus Rubianus, maintained intimate relations with him. This association necessarily influenced Luther; the old writers, particularly in Latin, and above all Cicero and Virgil, always impressed him deeply and, almost like Erasmus, he could not suppress the hope that God would be merciful to Cicero and his like.

His interest, however, was not strong enough to change him entirely from the “barbarian”; he never belonged to the real Humanists, such as Mu-

tian's Latin cohort. Melanchthon expressed regret over the fact that his great friend did not make a deeper study of the classics and thus lessen his high temper; it is doubtful whether by doing so the Reformer would have gained or lost. At any rate, while a student at Erfurt, Luther, whose father desired him to become a lawyer, did not show any decided preference for the classics but, quite the contrary, for scholastic philosophy. According to late investigations, Luther as the theologian was much more influenced than was formerly believed by these studies, of which he afterwards frequently and bitterly spoke as useless. At the artists' faculty in Erfurt, where Luther advanced in the usual manner to the baccalaureate in 1502, and became magister of philosophy in 1505, the so-called modern or Nominalistic scholasticism prevailed; it was splendidly represented by Trütvetter of Eisenach and Bartholomew of Ufingen. These learned men were on friendly terms with the young poets, but an intimate relation between modern scholasticism and Humanism could no more be proven than the spirit of Church opposition which at that time was reported to exist in Erfurt. Luther's first meeting with the Bible was only superficial, and it is believed that he was just as little influenced by a teacher's remark that Huss had not been condemned legally. For a while Luther made himself at home in the thorny dialectics of Nominalistic philosophy,

which after a very serious turn in his career became his ideal, and even showed its indelible impression on his mind long after he had decided to abandon it.

On the 17th of July, 1505, when he seemed on the point of taking up his studies of law, the young magister of free arts entered the St. Augustine convent at Erfurt. How the young man came to this decision has not been fully ascertained; such changes frequently are not even understood by the person most concerned. It is not unlikely that he was driven to the convent by a hasty vow which, in his anxiety, he made during a heavy storm. That he believed himself to have been called "through terror from heaven" indicated an uneasy conscience which was controlled until it finally succumbed to the overwhelming effect of an external event.

It was by no means the pressure of a particularly grievous fault that weighed on young Luther, but rather the vivid consciousness of general guilt prevailing at that time, for the relieving of which many thousands of people strove with all the might of their soul, body and wealth. This feeling was deeply rooted in the discouraged mind and furthered by an innate sentiment of morality and delicacy; it increased to such an extent that it threatened to destroy the inner equilibrium.

Luther seems to have recognized this state of affairs and on a later occasion he mentioned that the sternness of his parents had caused him to enter

a convent and become a monk. The father, whose hope in the son's future seemed entirely frustrated, bitterly regretted the mistake of his too severe method of education. Hans Luther, pious as he was, had a deep aversion for the clergy, like many capable laymen; on a visit to Martins Primiz he told him and his theological guests that the fourth commandment, which his son so severely violated by an independent action, meant to him more than the alleged call from heaven, which might perhaps be a "specter of the devil."

To the bewildered son, however, who destroyed all worldly ties in his agony, the father's anger and grief were no obstruction. He devoted himself eagerly to his duties in the monastery; for the first time his passionate nature showed itself, when the young mendicant friar increased almost to self-destruction his humiliation and asceticism, with which he expected to gain heaven. He was ready to do and suffer everything for the purpose of silencing the terrible thought of his sin and God's ire, and of finding a merciful Creator.

What consolation the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine offered him differed in no way from the ecclesiastical custom; formerly these mendicant friars were believed to show an evangelical leaning in their teachings, or a more than external connection with the great father of the Church after whom they were named; but this was an erroneous

idea, because from their monasteries came enthusiastic defenders of the pope's omnipotence, the Immaculate Conception and the absolution. Andreas Proles, at the head of his German congregation of reformed convents, in opposition to his own general carried through the cession from the non-reformed elements of the Order, but he fought only for the reintroduction of the old monkish discipline, which was upheld just as vigorously in the constitution published in 1504 by his successor, Staupitz.

The peace of mind, however, which those of a more quiet disposition found in the fulfillment of their customary duties, did not come to the fiery young magister, although he willingly submitted to the servile duties of the beginner and even tried to exceed the requirements of the Order's statutes. The "peculiar way" which he followed, by abstaining for several days from any kind of nourishment, was not only nerve racking but also contrary to the monkish spirit; in spite of this fact his teacher, Nathin, called him a model of monastic holiness.

No moral blemish clouded his record as a monk. Nevertheless, when well advanced in years, he acknowledged that loneliness or melancholy is like poison and death to all people, particularly when they are young. Always restless he resumed the scholastic studies which were taught in the convent under the leadership of Usingen and other capable

teachers; thus he added to the hardship of asceticism the danger of lonely reflection and self-study. At the same time he became deeply interested in the writings of his "dear Master" Occam, and of the Nominalist Gabriel Biel, who died in 1495. This occupation, however, increased his trouble instead of encouraging and bringing him comfort. While the Nominalistic God, represented as the incarnation of sovereign arbitrament, in his strange supremacy seemed unapproachable to the frightened heart and assumed the features of the terrible judge of the world so easily impressed upon the youthful mind, on the other hand the Pelagian justice of this school stimulated again and again the fruitless struggles to secure God's mercy by his own efforts.

Neither Luther's character nor his state of mind could agree to such easy means of success as was held out by these teachings, namely, that human nature is capable of deserving mercy by its own actions, such as repentance, or even voluntary receipt of the sacrament. In later years he wrote on this subject: "If a conscience has to stand on the merits of its own work, it is built on loose sand that keeps constantly moving so that work must be looked for all the time, the longer the more." This is a vivid expression of his feelings regarding the total lack of support, the helpless efforts and the sinking of the spirits; he always was able to recall in their entire frightfulness his stormy sensations dur-

ing the time spent in the convent. He frequently tried the healing power of the sacrament, but it did not relieve the pangs of his heart; he did not believe in any mild measures and thought it impossible to become worthy; an authority like Biel, whose writings, according to a remark made by Melancthon, Luther knew by heart, was opposed to the prevailing inclination of confessors to be satisfied with an incomplete or so-called "gallows" repentance on the part of those desiring absolution; Biel demanded that the repentance of those who confess be based on their love of God. According to the scholastic definition, a complete repentance is only possible where God is loved above everything else.

Thus neither asceticism nor scholasticism brought Luther the help so eagerly desired. His disposition did not permit him to evade such issues, as they imposed themselves on all thinking minds in those days. While excessive castigation prevented sleep for weeks, the pain of his heart was increased to the utmost degree by the inexorably penetrating thought of predestination, which has tortured so many souls. On one side there was the threatening possibility of being counted with those lost forever, through predestination of God's concealed and unanswerable will; on the other side, the impossibility of passing the abyss of God's majesty to reach the hidden God; to the physically fatigued and spiritually lonely young man, that was hell on earth.

What he suffered is better described in his own words than it possibly could be by others. In 1518, he wrote that he knew a man who suffered such great and infernal pain at short intervals that no tongue could say, no pen could write, and nobody without experience of his own could believe it, and that if the pain had completely spent its power on him, or lasted only a half hour or even a tenth of an hour, he would have perished and his body would have been reduced to ashes. Although hungry and thirsty for the love of God, this man despaired of finding the just and eager avenger of sin until he finally hated God; he was frightened each time he saw a picture of the Crucified One and would have preferred to see the devil.

Luther was ordained a priest in 1507, but that did not change his state of mind; when he celebrated mass for the first time and when, on a later occasion, he marched in the procession by the side of Staupitz, who carried the sacrament, he almost lost his mind at the thought of God's immediate presence.

These combats of his soul were not unprecedented, and Luther declared that his pain was added to by the erroneous idea of extraordinary suffering which nobody else experienced. To mention some instances, the mystic Dominican monk Suso battled for nine years with his doubts about God's change to man, predestination and similar questions, until "with a crying heart and weeping eyes" he begged

for help. Gerhard Groot, well versed on matters concerning the heart, explained graphically that the greatest danger of a budding monk is the temptation for physical and spiritual self-torment. St. Bernhard, probably the finest observer of monkish life in all its bright and dark aspects, also severely criticised this form of convent sickness.

Luther's state of mind was evidently little understood by his companions at Erfurt. His old novice master advised him to hope for God's commands and to believe in forgiveness of sins, which temporarily gave him some comfort, but a really healing influence did not appear until he came in close touch with Vicar General von Staupitz, a clever and eminent man, although he, too, sometimes found it difficult to follow the inventive pessimism of Brother Martinus. This noble vicar looked deep into his protégé's soul and fought the exaggerated feeling of sinfulness by making healthy fun of such "dolls' sins"; in place of the "fictitious painted Savior," as Luther saw him, he pointed out the suffering and dying Christ, who "does not frighten but consoles." Luther appreciated this invaluable merit of his spiritual father and educator to its full extent; a few years prior to his death he remarked; "Had not Dr. Staupitz, or rather God through Dr. Staupitz, helped me out of those vexations, I should have been drowned in them and gone to hell long ago."

Recovery was slow but all the more sure. Some

of his contemporaries compared his sudden entrance into the convent with the awakening of St. Paul, the apostle; later some similarity was found between Luther's and Loyola's vexations, but in Luther's case the subsequent period of internal reconstruction showed the effect of gradually advancing and always conscientious work,—in fact, a specifically German character. Ranke called attention to the great contrast between Luther and the Spaniard who elevated himself through his fancy, and on the strength of a firm determination considered the record of his past sins wiped out. Luther, according to Ranke, desired neither inspiration nor fancies; he had no confidence in any of them and cared only for the simple, written, indubitable Word of God. In his case there was no lightning-like awakening, no self-delusion of ecstasy and no suddenly appearing inner light, and this indicates a great difference between the Erfurt monk who laboriously worked his way to clearness and the celebrated heroes of the Roman ecclesiastical holiness.

Luther did not suddenly throw away the monkish ideal to guide himself exclusively by writings. He had previously commenced to study the Bible, although Usingen tried to dissuade him; Staupitz encouraged this study and Luther now combined it with the reading of writings by old and new theologians; he was particularly attracted by the works of

St. Bernard, the Nominalistic mystic Gerson, and the powerful St. Augustine. He was now able to read with different eyes, finding comfort where previously words of judgment seemed to threaten him. The words of Staupitz, that penitence must begin with love of justice and God, went to his heart "like the sharp arrow of a strong man"; he was delighted at discovering that the word penitence (*poenitentia*), which reminds one of punishment and pain, means in the Greek original, "change of mind." All his thinking and searching henceforth was based on religious experience; he referred to the fruitless struggle for justice in the following joyful but modest words: "We are nothing and received everything from God." The idea which afterwards led to the central teaching of justification through belief alone, and a germ of which already existed at that time and had decided Luther's inner development, was not absolutely new; Ritschl declared that it always had been customary in the Latin church; Bernhard de Clairvaux, in a sermon on the Song of Songs, spoke of the justification as did Luther. This idea, however, which Nominalists afterwards rejected almost completely, had never before been the fertile starting point for an entirely new view, such as came to the front in the course of the movement instituted by Luther.

CHAPTER II

LUTHER AS A MONK

IN 1508, the young monk had to move to the convent and University of Wittenberg and at that time nobody could have discovered in him any trace of heretical tendency. The university had been established for only a short time and could not yet rival those of Leipzig or Erfurt; it was far from showing any spirit of innovation, poorly endowed, and located in a small town. It was obliged to obtain a good many teachers free of charge from the St. Augustine monastery. Staupitz and a physician named Pollich, of Mellerstadt, were the elector's chief advisers at the time the college was founded. Staupitz took the chair of theology and selected the most capable monks from out of town as his colleagues, among them his Erfurt protégé, Luther, who started at Wittenberg with lectures on philosophy, but was temporarily transferred back to Erfurt and found himself drawn more and more into active professional life. In October, 1512, he received the title of doctor of theology and from that time on his academic achievements grew to real importance.

Besides attending to these duties he also had to preach in the church of St. Augustine convent at Wittenberg, as well as in the parish church, and to become well informed as to different details of the Order's affairs intrusted to him. Staupitz proposed a change of the constitution, but some of the convents disapproved of this plan, and in connection with it Brother Martin (Luther) was sent to Rome (presumably during the autumn of 1511); however, this trip had no immediate influence on his views concerning the Church; only later he realized the true value of his Roman recollections.

Thousands of good Churchmen from the north before him had painfully felt the disappointment which almost necessarily arose at the first personal experience with the frivolity and corruption of the "holy" Rome; but most of them probably thought, as Luther did, that besides the surprising impudence of Roman debauchery, besides the openly reported scandals in the life of Alexander VI, and besides the cynicism of the Humanistically enlightened priests, there were the venerable sanctuaries, the innumerable memories from the heroic days of the persecuted Church and the overwhelming treasures of mercy.

Luther visited all churches and meeting places, where he believed everything he heard, even the most disgusting falsehoods, until he almost regretted that his parents had not yet entered purgatory, so

that he might have the joy of redeeming them. Even the most painful impressions of modern Rome did not prevent this relapse into the old, vain efforts of his early years in the convent.

Nevertheless, after returning from Rome, he remained a real and true monk, anxious to make up for the prayers missed in the course of business and always more eager in fasting than was beneficial to his health. Even at that time his inexhaustible working power was evident; it resisted all neglect of his body. In 1512, he became sub-prior of the convent at Wittenberg, and in 1515 district-vicar over the eleven convents of Meissen and Thuringia. He was indefatigable in attending to disciplinary, judicial and industrial matters, and was able to supervise the convent's fisheries, as well as to instruct his friend Lang, the prior of Erfurt, in real bookkeeping; at the same time the mental work of this theologian seemed to be progressing without interruption.

The demands of his academic chair, supervision of studies in the convent, and preaching in two churches, seemed to have strengthened his mind and deepened the hard-earned trust in belief, on the strength of which this monk, formerly so timid, now acted with manly firmness in the university and pulpit as well as in his correspondence. Like Colet before him, Luther began with exegetical lectures on the Psalms, the Rome letter and other

epistles of St. Paul, the Book of Judges, etc. He preached with ever increasing eloquence, sometimes day after day throughout the week, or even two or three times each day. The substance of his teaching was the "short way" to justice given by God and not earned by man, the simple belief in the Redeemer, which he had found through indescribable pain and, in confirmation of his great religious experience, continued to find in the Bible, particularly in the apostle St. Paul and the Psalter, the lofty pictures of which always showed him the figure of the Messiah in St. Augustine and in the German mysticism.

Luther really resurrected St. Paul's teachings after the Humanists had used them in opposition to scholasticism. However, their joyful message of overcoming the law and its justice through Christ became inseparably connected with the inconsiderate consistency of the great Church father who, with the tremendous power of serious personal experience, separated more thoroughly than any Christian thinker had done, the freedom of God's grace from man's lack of freedom and power. It is presumed that Luther's mind was not fully satisfied with the work done so far and that led him to the study of German mysticism, in which he was not previously interested. At one time it was believed that Staupitz had influenced him in this direction, but it would appear that Staupitz,

through his intercourse with Luther, began to develop his own theology. In his new enthusiasm for St. Augustine, Staupitz quickly got as far as the strongest doctrine of predestination, and also showed more plainly than Luther the mystic influences, in his work called "The Price of God's Love," in the picture language of inward hearing and self-elevation. In spite of his enthusiasm for Tauler's sermons and for what he called "German Theology," which he published in fragments in 1516 and complete in 1518, Luther always remained perfectly free from the effeminate sensationalism of mysticism; its pantheistic basis did not appeal to him. The true warmheartedness with which man's relation to God was treated touched him to the innermost depths; while mystic speculation did not impress him in the least, he felt enriched and refreshed by this directness of the religious feeling, all the more so by the compelling peculiarity of the German expression.

Luther placed Tauler above all other school theologians, and praised German theology as the soundest and most harmonizing with the gospel, thus revealing the systematic fight against the prevailing scholasticism which he had started at that time, without knowing or thinking that he would soon be called from the small playground of feuds between learned men to a larger battle-field.

The fundamental difference between Luther and

the Humanists never showed itself more plainly than when both had to meet the same opponent. The monkish aggressor did not intend to overthrow the rule of Aristotle in favor of Plato or a Platonist Christendom; he saw in the form of the Stagirite, for which he had a great personal dislike, the incarnation of Pelagianic school philosophy. It was his desire to annihilate the Greek comedian who, had he not been a poor mortal, might have been taken for the devil incarnate. Later it was ascertained that this fierce enmity was by no means intended for the entire and original doctrine of Aristotle, but only for his objectionable authority in matters concerning Christian belief. Luther, notwithstanding his sharp attacks on the useless and stupid work of the scholastics,—which reproach he did not even spare his former teachers, Trutvetter and Usingen,—always retained much of the scholastic methods and even scholastic ideas. In the first heat of theological independence, the Wittenberg professor, disregarding the offense it would give to his Erfurt and Wittenberg colleagues, started to affirm in public disputation, through the mouths of his pupils, the worthlessness of the prevailing ecclesiastical knowledge. He permitted them to announce the most provoking paradoxes, for instance, that they could only become theologians without the assistance of Aristotle, or that Aristotle was to theology what darkness is to light. He

spoke repeatedly in his lectures of the self-satisfied, philosophizing preacher as a frog in a muddy pool. While Staupitz at Nürnberg won the spirits and hearts of the best people through his sermons on predestination and by his amiable and striking personality, his younger friend at Wittenberg had the satisfaction of converting to his views such unreservedly scholastic colleagues as Andreas Bodenstein from Karlstadt, and Amsdorf. On the 18th of May, 1517, he wrote to his friend Lang; "Our theology and St. Augustine are making the best of progress and prevail at our university; Aristotle is sinking lower and lower; nobody can count on an audience unless he lectures on this theology, that is, the Bible or St. Augustine or another real Church teacher." This, however, was not the Renaissance of Christendom as Erasmus, or even Mutian, understood it. Luther was regarded as a follower of Reuchlin; in 1516 he wrote to Mutian a polite letter, signed "Barbarian and Peasant Corydon"; he called the "Letters of the dark men" (*Dunkelmänner*) the product of a buffoon, and denied any relationship between the virtues of even the noblest heathens and true justice. With astonishment and regret he found, through close study of Erasmus' writings, that this great man did not agree with him on the subject which he considered so important. In March, 1517, he wrote to Lang: "My sympathy for our Erasmus is decreasing no-

ticeably; with him the human weighs more heavily than the Godly." That Erasmus still considered man's free will of some value and did not believe in mercy alone was, in view of his authority, regarded by Luther as a most dangerous error, of which he could perhaps be convinced.

It will be noticed that during those years Luther showed an increasing self-consciousness, boldly maintaining the position for which he fought so hard, although there could be seen at times an almost exaggerated humility which probably was due to monkish habit and to the effect of mysticism. He now began to approach the great question of Church reform by touching all the sore spots,—without reserve during his lectures but with some restraint in his sermons,—with that perfect freedom from fear of man which afterwards made the Reformer so irresistible. Many rough, common expressions indicated the Luther of the future. The frankness with which he blamed the corruption of the hierarchy, particularly in its higher places, reminds us of Geiler von Kaisersberg. One of his remarks, in the course of a lecture on the Book of Judges, probably made after the struggles of the Church had begun, attracted special attention; it was to the effect that only the intervention of laymen could save the Church from its hopeless condition.

At any rate, this St. Augustine monk was never a believer in the pope's infallibility, because even at

that time he asked bitterly what the Christians of the martyr period would have said if a prophet had shown them the highest bishops of the future, who shed Christian blood for worldly power. In this connection he said: "We are as bad as or worse than the Turks in profanation of the holy." In a letter to Spalatin he wrote: "To be a bishop means today to live like they do in Greece, Sodom or Rome." He also attacked in strong derision the conclusions of popular religion, public worship, fraternities and pilgrimages, and said in one of his sermons that women and servants who claimed to be under a spell of the Holy Ghost should be cured by a heavy stick, that being God's right finger for such a pilgrimage devil. With the same enthusiasm he pleaded for strict monkish obedience and against any kind of heresy, which he called overbearing segregation from the Church, and for which he had a deep aversion. Superficially regarded, this original professor and preacher might have been taken for a successor or result of the strict ecclesiastical opposition awakened by the council movement of the fifteenth century and since continued sporadically; he was a monkish celebrity in his Order and university, the princely founder of which commenced to take an interest in him. The court chaplain and private secretary Georg Spalatin (Burkhard vom Spalt), a capable Humanist of Mutian's circle, admired Luther as his "Apollo"

and submitted to him the elector's plan of procuring Staupitz a bishopric. Luther's unreserved reply, which he expressly stated should not be kept from Frederick the Sage, was: "Much of that which pleases your prince greatly, displeases God"; he added: "In worldly matters the man may be the most clever of all, but as far as God and peace of the soul are concerned I consider him almost seven times blind."

This letter was written by Luther in 1516. It did not agree with the prudence and devout politeness of Erasmus, nor with Mutian's warning not to tell the truth at the wrong time. Soon it became necessary to "fasten a bell to the cat's neck." What Christ's philosophy never would have achieved, was undertaken by the fearless monk who obeyed his conscience. He was created to be Christ's real champion; the spear and shield had not been knocked from his hand in his fight with the devil; an uproar did not frighten him; he told a brother monk that he was ready to accept tribulations cheerfully, as if they were holy relics, instead of the peace given by the world.

CHAPTER III

THE DISPUTE OVER ABSOLUTION

THE conflict about absolution (*Ablassstreit*), which led to the final destruction of the Church's unity, shows the remarkable fact of the popular German mind protesting against an ecclesiastical institution of German origin. Under the influence of the composition system, as it existed among the old tribes, the original disciplinary Church penance was reorganized, and particularly the redemption, which meant the change of Church punishment to a different performance, was gradually brought nearer to a fine. According to the old Germanic view of justice, even the duty of blood revenge could be changed to a loss of wealth on the part of the perpetrator, and little by little it became customary to let the sinner buy off his punishment by certain performances. There was an increasing influence of judicial and financial business practices over this part of religious life. It is evident that theology of the Middle Ages also tried to legitimate current ecclesiastical institutions and customs so that they would harmonize in some

manner with the prevailing system; the matter was so difficult, however, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the doctrine of absolution still contained a number of open questions.

It was closely connected with the doctrine of penance, which during the twelfth century, through Petrus Lombardus, became part of the seven sacraments, and in its full development appeared to be the strongest pillar in the powerful structure of hierarchy. There it was a matter of life and death for believers, of canceling a debt of sin that constantly renewed itself and of restoring the frequently disturbed relation to God; consequently the deciding condition of priestly absolution, which only in extreme cases was relaxed, bore immense weight; it was presumed that the priest, when exercising his prerogative, was guided by God's spirit; he was regarded as God's mouthpiece and grantor of real repentance, in the majesty of a more than earthly judge towards the penitent, although forgiveness of sins and remission of eternal punishment was reserved by God. Johannes Paltz, a St. Augustine monk, claimed that God showed more mercy and liberality through priests than directly, because more benevolence was distributed through priests than without them. This competence, however, constituted to the recipient of the sacrament a very easy means of circumventing the complete repentance (*contritio*) which, although very difficult, was

to precede the confession. While detestation of sin for God's sake alone, without the addition of any selfish motive, produced sufficient contrition (*contritio*), the power of the sacrament and priestly absolution might complete the frequently lacking sincerity and raise the lower grade of repentance (*attritio*) to the full value of the higher grade (*contritio*). Paltz, one of Luther's colleagues, explained very candidly how easily this incomplete repentance was accepted and how, to use one of Luther's expressions, each sigh about the sin, and every passing mood of the one who confessed, was stamped "attritio." This was not an undisputed, but the prevailing, view of the matter.

Since, however, the earthly punishment of sin, which is to be discontinued only after the absolved has given satisfaction, cannot fully suffice during our short lives and the balance has to be atoned for in purgatory, and since the torments of this purgatory are much more cruel than human minds can imagine, and the souls cannot from their own power obtain any abbreviation of the pain there, the Church came to the rescue by absolution, as practiced on a large scale since the Crusades. As one of the newer writers put it, the pope's monopolizing of the retail trade, in punishment of sin previously carried on by bishops and priests, had a decisive effect. During the thirteenth century the scholastic theology discovered that, in the merit of Christ, His

mother, the saints and the martyrs, the Church owned an inexhaustible treasure, the unlimited wealth of which would supply every want, but that its management is the pope's privilege.

Opinions differed, however, as to whether the pope could empty the entire purgatory, and whether he had jurisdiction to influence the beyond, or could only pray for such effect. Gerson, among others, took exception to the view that absolution could be obtained for the dead as well as for the living. These and other differences of opinion appeared rather insignificant compared to the assurance with which the pope practiced his privilege of using that mystic treasure. Boniface VIII established the jubilee absolution, which could be obtained in ever decreasing intervals and with steadily increasing ease; it endured in spite of all complaints and scoffing because a great many laymen eagerly seized this opportunity of obtaining at a bargain price such an extensive guaranty of relief. Berthold von Chiemsee said: "Such easy penance and papal grace is for impatient and lazy people, who wish to get rid of their sins through the pope's mild mercy." Although, in view of the pope's prominent position, the jubilee absolution was not limited to certain dioceses or certain sins, unlike the ordinary absolution, he reduced his demands on the recipient to a minimum. According to the pope's bulls, absolution was to be preceded by repentance and confes-

sion, but it was added that the intention of confessing later on would suffice. Paltz explained that these conditions were mentioned for the purpose of preventing the erroneous idea that only money was required; but that really the effect of the absolution did not depend on repentance and confession. The belief exacted of the recipient could be proven by not rejecting the sacrament. A scholastic particularly recommended this absolution to sinners who could not easily abstain for a whole year from committing a serious sin, and therefore frequently lost the fear of a long penance, while for the effect of the absolution it sufficed to abstain from serious sin for a day or only an hour, namely, during the confession. Paltz claimed that anybody who, after receiving the jubilee absolution, should die before again committing a serious sin, would surely go to heaven at once. He was frequently asked where the money went, and replied in his characteristic manner that nobody worried about the destiny of money paid for merchandise. It was understood that the pope, at that time Alexander VI, gave the money to his children; Paltz expressed the opinion that it would be best to believe this and not to look into the matter any further, even if the money had been spent for other purposes.

Investigation on this subject, however, as well as criticism, continued. Pope Leo X found this out to his dismay just after issuing his absolution bull

of the 18th of October, 1517, according to his own statement for the purpose of raising money to build the new Church of St. Peter, and to advance at the same time the welfare of Christendom. The jubilee absolution to erect the church was an inheritance from his predecessor, whose bull of 1509 was authority for preaching on absolution throughout Germany; the bull had been extended from time to time, but was now to be replaced by a new one. Leo's need of money seemed to be as insatiable as his thirst for diversions of all kinds. It is hardly possible to conceive a stronger contrast in one person than that of the religious genius at Wittenberg and the pleasure-seeker in the chair of St. Peter. A Venice reporter quoted him as having said, after his election: "Let us enjoy the papacy because God gave it to us"; whether spoken or not, these words represent the truth. Another Venice man summed up his opinion about this pope as follows: "Although religious, he desires to live." The second half of this opinion was unassailable; the pope went hunting on horseback, dressed in a short, scarlet-colored jacket; and in his report on the carnival at Rome an ambassador mentioned that the cheerful Medicean was resourceful enough to do justice to the finest as well as to the lowest pleasures. Besides a comedy by Arios, for which Raphael had painted the scenery, there were horse and buffalo races, tournaments and bull fights. While the pope pronounced

the benediction after the performance, most of the audience, not interested in it, hurried indecently to the dining rooms. On the following day he conceived the remarkable notion of having a monk, who had written a piece which did not meet with success, undressed and chastised in his nudity like a little boy, to the delight of the populace. Leo X was surrounded by great artists and small poets, but in his own heart he was really only a musician, and not capable of appreciating art as Julius II did. He showed this in 1516, when he ordered Raphael to paint on the walls of the Vatican a life-size picture of an elephant that had just died. Raphael's fresco paintings in the halls of the pope's palace indicated plainly that the ruler, for whose aggrandizement exploits of preceding popes bearing the same name were used, did not regard monumental art through the same glasses that his predecessor used.

According to Baumgarten, a bad pope does not become a good one by taking pleasure in seeing fine paintings. Leo X was a bad pope, even if judged only by the opinions of his contemporaries. Aside from the faithlessness of his very dynastic politics, and the increasing neglect of the Church's commonweal, his financial management was extremely unscrupulous. A pope who not only made war, but was in the habit of paying very liberally for his momentary whims and preferences, naturally could not get along

even with the highest income. Whoever happened to accompany his song received 100 ducats (about \$200.) or more. This annual income was estimated at about 400,000 and 500,000 ducats, but the war for the duchy of Urbino cost about 700,000 ducats, the reception tendered to the pope's brother Julian and wife at Rome, in 1514, cost 50,000 ducats, the wedding of his nephew Lorenzo, in 1514, over 300,000 ducats; while the acquisition of the state property of Modena required only 40,000 ducats. Leo's shortness of funds was compared with that of Maximilian, but it cannot be denied that the pope knew how to obtain and spend money on a much larger scale than the emperor.

The Turkish tithe (*Tuerkenzehnte*) was not very productive, but the year 1517 opened some unexpected sources of money, although this was due to a scandal which uncovered Roman corruption in all its ugliness. In the circle of the holy college a conspiracy was formed against the pope's life, under the leadership of Petrucci, a young cardinal, who gave the secret away through his own carelessness; he was then lured to Rome and executed, although the pope had guaranteed his life and promised the cardinals that he would pardon the guilty ones. Those from the college who were in the secret had to pay large amounts of money for the pope's pardon. There were people in Italy as well as in Germany who branded the whole transaction as a

Medicean money speculation. Still more productive was the nomination of thirty-one cardinals which, according to the lowest estimate, yielded 229,000 ducats. At that time the annual income of many a cardinal was said to be more than 30,000 ducats, and that of the pope's banker, Agostino Chigi, was even estimated at 70,000 ducats. It is easily understood that the power of money in such surroundings was great, but the wonderful mixture of elements in Rome under Leo X is best shown by details about Chigi's mode of living.

Being a liberal patron of art, Chigi had his villa decorated by Raphael and Soddoma with the most charming antique figures and scenes, and owned the first Greek book printed in Rome; but he also had as a mistress the most celebrated dancer of the city, and when he married another mistress, the pope and fourteen cardinals were present at the wedding. The "merchant at the Roman curia," whom Julius II had honored with his own escutcheon in addition to that of the Chigi family, filled several offices at the curia, among them those of writer (*scriptor*) of apostolic letters, corrector of bulls and solicitor of briefs; he was really the center of the pope's notorious administrative department.

An important part of the tax system, which was to place the pope's finances on a firm basis, was represented by returns from sermons on absolution. Those from Germany suffered some diminution be-

fore reaching the coffers of the Roman curia. The young archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, with his Humanistic and artistic leanings and love of pomp, resembled the pope in disposition; to his constituents he obligated himself to bear personally the expense of the pall (*Pallium*), which twice in short intervals had been a charge on the archbishopric,—and for that purpose he borrowed 30,000 florins from the House of Fugger. To pay this debt, he was to use the returns from sermons on absolution, which Leo had transferred to him in April, 1515, on condition that, besides a liberal payment on account, one-half of the annual receipts should be sent to Rome.

The true character of this disreputable business, as Janssen called it, showed itself in the fact that the Mainz sub-commissioners had to submit to being accompanied by Fugger's representatives, while a strong effort was made to disguise the archbishop's financial operation by using the entire apparatus of solemn functions, and by widely popularizing the ecclesiastical doctrine of mercy. Mykonius said: "It would hardly have been possible to keep and receive even God in a more impressive manner." His reminiscences referred to the absolution previously granted by Julius II and to his announcement at Annaberg through the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel, whose tried and popular eloquence again was to render excellent service. Whether the unfavorable rumors about his antecedents were

based on fact or not is of little interest, because his personal actions were of much less importance than was formerly believed. In Catholic as well as in Protestant circles the fact was sufficiently established that Tetzel's much-talked-about practice really did not go beyond the doctrine of absolution and the instruction of Mainz, which served him as guidance. The contents of this official document remind us of Sebastian Brant, who remarked that belief just then was like a light which, before being extinguished, throws a particularly strong brightness and glare.

The most prominent among the four degrees of absolution was, of course, the complete forgiveness of all sins (*plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum*); it must be mentioned, however, that according to ecclesiastical view, the cancellation of sin by penance was completed by the added fine and was not directly obtainable for money. Repentance and confession led to forgiveness, while the payment of money was intended only in settlement of the temporal punishment. It has already been shown how repentance could be reduced to a minimum and confession could be temporarily delayed. Forgiveness of sin did not simply mean that the sin was forgiven, but a fine distinction was to be made between remission of the "debt" and remission of the "pain"; in the recipient's mind, however, this difference was easily obliterated, while the characteristic and dangerous system of money payment loomed up much

more prominently. This was particularly apparent in acquiring other favors, such as letters of confession (*confessionalia*), participation in various functions of the Church, remission of fines for sins of the dead, etc.; in such cases it was expressly stipulated that neither repentance nor confession would be required, so that Tetzl, in his sermons, could justly call attention to the fact that a safe-conduct to paradise could be obtained for a quarter of a florin.

The letters of confession granted free choice of a confessor, who could bestow a general absolution and remission once during life and when in danger of death, including such cases as were otherwise reserved for the pope and the bishops. That was a convenient guarantee, even for those who did not think just then of changing their ways; it was also a refuge for extreme cases, and those in possession of such a letter could feel easy in the meantime. Dieckhoff said: "The earnest combat of Christians against sin and even preservation from great sins and vices, has lost its importance and grown irrelevant."

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT ISSUE JOINED

THIS entire system was in marked contrast to Luther's previous mode of development. The time had come when the future Reformer had to begin and when he had to acquaint himself with his own point of view. In his sermons subsequent to 1516 he had repeatedly touched upon doctrine and practice of remission, the lack of clearness in theory and the bad consequences of its application. Gradually his own experiences as a monk confirmed the worst of the reports previously received, which were only partly corroborated. Acquaintances and strangers asked his advice; all complained about remission, particularly about Tetzel's article.

The notorious saying that the soul goes from purgatory to heaven as soon as the money tinkles in the box was afterwards denied by Tetzel, but Sylvester Prierias, in his polemic against Luther, upheld it without fear, and declared that it was an admissible spice for the sermon on remission. For Luther, however, it was not only a question of

abuses and excesses in practice, but of the doctrine of remission itself and, at the same time, of the basic view about man's relation to God, on which the Church's immense power rested. At that time he did not feel perfectly clear about the effect of the step he was going to take; he found that his own position towards the Church had changed, without knowing exactly how and, according to Bratke, this caused his determination to appear in public, not as a teacher but for the purpose of learning.

On the 31st of October, 1517, he fastened his 95 theses to the church door of the castle at Wittenberg, sending at the same time a copy of them to his ecclesiastical superiors, the bishop of Brandenburg and the archbishop of Mainz, accompanied by a strong complaint about the actions of the commissioners.

The great historical moment should not be affected by calling attention to the fact that the preparation of such a theological discussion by nailing theses to the church door was customary in those days and not by any means a bold act. To fight prevailing ecclesiastical views and customs, even without departing from the basis of faithful belief, could have the most serious consequences; in the circles of Dominican monks, who had not yet forgotten that recently some members of their Order had died on the pyre, there was, after Luther's theses appeared, malicious talk to the effect that

some of the St. Augustine monks would also be burned. The 95 points of controversy were expressly designed to "elucidate the truth"; nevertheless they showed by no means the finished heretic, but simply the theologian who, through learned arguing, desired to examine and clear up his own views and who, in spite of their scholastic form, did not deny his opposition to the strictly papal side of ecclesiastic science, although he had no intention of opposing the Church or of disputing the pope's primacy.

Luther was so far from rejecting the remission of sins as absolutely useless, as Johann von Wesel did, that he even cursed those who opposed the papal remission on principle. His new doctrine of certain salvation was not fully explained, but his very first thesis claimed that Christ, in his invitation to do penance, desired to see the entire existence of the faithful changed into a life of penance; in his 62nd thesis he maintained the most sacred gospel of God's glory and mercy to be the Church's true treasure, but Cajetan declared this assertion to be erroneous. More important for the immediate effect of the theses seemed to be the introduction of the "pointed lay arguments" created by the actions of those who preached on remission, and particularly the similarity in tone used by Luther in a number of his theses. He claimed that it would be more desirable to give to the poor, or to keep

one's property together, than to buy remission; that he who passes a poor man without giving and pays his money for remission earns God's wrath, and that the pope, if he knew about the extortions of those preaching remission, would rather reduce St. Peter's Church to ashes than build it with the skin, flesh and bone of his sheep; in fact that, in case of need, it would be his duty even to sell St. Peter's Church, and to turn the proceeds over to those who were relieved of their money by those preachers.

Such words, pronounced by a prominent member of the mendicant Order, a respected professor of theology, could not pass unnoticed. While grave doubts predominated at first among his colleagues and companions of the Order the theses, according to Mykonius, "in four weeks penetrated throughout Christianity as if the angels themselves had been the messengers."

Luther was frightened by this rapid spreading of his opinions and assured Bishop Scultetus of Brandenburg that he did not desire to "determine but to discuss"; however, nobody appeared for discussion and there were increasing indications of an imminent fight between preachers on remission and scholastics, whom Luther called Jews and sophists, clearly shown on one side, and elements of the Humanists and the popular opposition in less clear outlines, on the other side. Luther soon found that

he had ceased to be alone, that his action was no longer his own and that, besides the interests and passions of the ecclesiastical and learned world, the common people would this time have a word to say. In his letters of those days, which he liked to sign "Brother Martinus Eleutherius" (the free-thinker), he showed that he felt exalted by the seriousness of the matter and by the firm conviction of his godly mission. On the 11th of November, 1517, he wrote to his friend Lang that nobody could start anything new without arousing the appearance of haughtiness and conceit, such accusations having been made even against Christ and the martyrs; that he dared to look up to the lofty model of St. Paul, the apostle, whose sermon had angered the Jews and was regarded as foolishness by the Greeks and that the Lord would perhaps show him, as he had St. Paul, how much he would have to suffer in His name. On the 10th of July, 1518, he wrote to his colleague Link in the same sense and added: "If this were not so, why would not God have put some other words in my mouth?" Not for a moment did he doubt that physical danger and disgrace were necessary signs of God's truth, and of the gospel bought with blood and death, just as they were during the early Christian era.

The opponents' threats Luther met with decision by saying that his wife and child were cared for, his home and land attended to, honor and name

lost, and that now they could take nothing except his miserable body, but they had no power over his soul. This self-assurance came from his consciousness that "we can do nothing through our own initiative but everything through God's mercy." Later he stated, in his simple way: "From the very start, in all seriousness, I placed the full responsibility on God, who wanted to play with me by telling me that he was doing this for Himself alone and did not desire me to interfere; it was my own wisdom."

Luther's case was already pending in Rome; the bishop of Brandenburg found nothing unCatholic in the theses and only advised against further publications, but Archbishop Albrecht had forwarded the theses at once to the pope with a complaint about the injury done to his "holy negotium" by the behavior of some sub-commissioners, and instituted an inhibitory suit against "the impudent monk at Wittenberg." Romans were often blamed for procrastination, but there was not much delay this time. A prominent curialist of the Dominican Order, Sylvester Mazzolini from Prierio, rudely scored the theses, in which Luther used rough language which he afterwards employed with masterly vigor. Mazzolini called his opponent a leper and a son of a dog; in a style somewhat similar to that of Tetzels in his antitheses, he represented the standpoint of the pope's infallibility, and in his second letter ex-

posed the terror of a grayheaded scholastic at a man who dared to despise not only St. Thomas but even Aristotle, "who was admired everywhere." The violent language used against Luther did not harmonize with an order given by Leo X in February, 1518, to the new St. Augustine general, Gabriel Venetus, "to pacify the man."

The pope, at that time, still believed that "the flame which had just been lighted could be easily extinguished"; the Church had met heavier storms than this apparently insignificant attack. Nevertheless the curia could not help remembering the terrible Bohemian revolution of a century before; on the 5th of May, 1518, the cardinal legate Cajetan was instructed not only to bring Bohemia back to full obedience, but also to clean up the neighboring territories which might have been infected by the heretic poison. How these words were to be understood was shown by the suit brought against Luther at Rome. The accusation was heresy and the pope placed the decision in the hands of the bishop of Ascoli and the contentious Prierias. On the 7th of August Luther received a notice to appear personally at court within sixty days.

He was not frightened by the fight just begun; rather it seemed to have a vivifying effect on him; slowly but irresistibly it became evident that the high ecclesiastical dignitaries were estranged from him on account of the vexations, against which the

Church's ordinary resources seemed powerless. Besides the scholastic polemic of Tetzels, Prierias and Eck there were also increasing signs of approval. At Wittenberg, the students burned Tetzels' antitheses; according to Luther's opinion, the real theology, in spite of superannuated sophistry, seemed to find its proper place among the young, just as Christ had turned from the stubborn Jews to the heathens.

Nearly all his colleagues soon rallied around him and in April, when visiting the general chapter of his congregation at Heidelberg he spoke, in public discussion about Aristotle, on his "Theology of the Cross," "Theology of Glory," "St. Paul and St. Augustine." His audience was not sympathetic at the start, but he evidently made a favorable impression; many among the youthful listeners were entranced, like Martin Butzer, a Dominican monk, who wrote to his Humanistic friend, Beatus Rhenanus, that Luther announced openly what Erasmus only hinted at.

After returning from Heidelberg, Luther showed increased self-assurance, as was indicated by his letters; the dedication to Leo X of the "resolutions" to the 95 theses spoke of his unconditional submission to the pope's word, which he claimed to regard as the word of Christ; but the contents of the resolutions harmonized by no means with the introduction, for one of the sentences read: "I do

not care at all about the pope's likes and dislikes; he is a man like others."

In his reply to Prierias' attack Luther did not hesitate to declare, as the celebrated canonist Panormitanus had done before him, that the pope could err as well as a common council. While not willing to become a heretic, he made no effort to avoid the appearance of heresy; however, he took exception to the violent persecution of heretics and in the pulpit lauded the unjust suffering of the Church's ban as most magnificent merit; that showed him moving towards the invisible and away from the visible Church.

Going to Rome on the strength of his summons meant to meet certain death. At the beginning, Luther did not wish to draw the German ruler into his affairs, but now, in view of his "bloodthirsty" enemies, he deemed it advisable to appeal to the influence of Frederick the Sage, for the purpose of having his case transferred to Germany. By advice of his friends, he even asked for an electoral rescript formally forbidding his trip to Rome; this was not granted by the elector, who simply made an agreement with the legate Cajetan, temporarily at Augsburg, according to which Luther could go to that city for a preliminary hearing but could not be forced into a retraction.

Luther claimed, and we may well believe, that he cared less for his person than for the future of his

cause and the honor of his university. The last named motive was particularly appreciated by the wise elector. Frederick, an ardent collector of relics, had not been converted to Luther's views, but he had long regarded his "own doctor" as an ornament to his university and looked upon Rome's action as disrespectful to his own pupils, who filled him with pride. He also considered it unjust toward Luther who, although accused, was not yet convicted; besides, he may have remembered the traditions of Wettin's church politics which, since the middle of the fifteenth century, had preserved independence against the curia.

From the start Luther's case was under the special protection of the territorial state; it was claimed that he depended on Erasmus and others of his kind, but the bishop of Brandenburg corrected this view by proclaiming that Luther had the backing of the university and the elector. At that time Emperor Maximilian tried to gain the pope's approval to his grandson's succession in August, 1518. Maximilian spoke against Luther, but afterwards he requested Elector Frederick to take good care of the monk, who perhaps might still be useful in future. The bright prince seemed rather inclined to bring Luther, as a monkish sophist, into contact with his opponents. Luther was evidently benefited by the fact that, just prior to his arrival at Augsburg and by the elector's aid, the national animosity towards

Rome was shown more plainly than ever before, owing to the demand of the Turks' tithe (*Tuerkenzehnten*). A letter of complaint written by the bishop of Liége, who from that time on was at Rome, regarded as favoring Luther, impressed the state authorities (*Reichsstaende*) most vividly as to the "knavery of papal ugliness," and that of the courtiers. Hutten, still the devoted servant of the archbishop of Mainz, despised the quarrel about remission and wished to see both opposing parties perish; in one of his best dialogues he encouraged the temper of the assemblage, and several times made the high-toned and spoiled cardinal-legate the target of his derision.

Luther now, for the first time, felt the effect of the national excitement; from his own experience he knew all about Roman subterfuge and he was angered at the insulting, open manner in which Italians spoke about German inferiority, and added to his annoyance by reading a pamphlet on the Medicean swindle at Rome, written by Frederick Fischer of Würzburg, who had the title of canon (*Domherr*).

In this humor, Luther arrived on the 7th of October at Augsburg, the battlefield of Roman conceit and German indignation. He could not help thinking constantly on the way of the disgraceful death that impended over him. He was well received by Peutinger and other prominent men; he

also carried as a precaution an imperial safe-conduct and, on the 12th of October, he faced the pope's representative.

Contrary to all expectations he was very amiably received, but a serious discussion, such as he desired, seemed to be out of the question between Rome and the "little monk." As previously indicated by one of the cardinal's messengers, the word of "six-letters" (*revoco*) was the only basis for an understanding. Thomas de Vio, named after the Dominican saint (St. Thomas) and himself a celebrated dogmatist, became frequently involved in disputes with the stubborn German contrary to his own expressed will. The Italians present laughed contemptuously, but the zealous little gentleman listened seriously to his opponent's arguments, although he finally threw off the mask of calm superiority and screamed at the incorrigible professor. Luther then also raised his voice, and told his interviewer not to believe that Germans did not study grammar. In vain he offered in a legalized protest to have his case transferred to Basel, Freiburg, Louvain or Paris; in vain he tried, in a second document, to confirm his point of view, particularly in regard to justification through belief, with an ardent request to the pope not to be cruel enough to "relegate into darkness a soul seeking nothing but the light of truth."

On the 14th of October, Cajetan closed the hear-

ing with the ultimatum that Luther should either retract or not show his face any more. On the same day Luther wrote to Spalatin, "Not one syllable will I retract." However, the cardinal's threatening remark that the pope had empowered him to declare the ban over Luther and all his followers, and the rumor that a St. Augustine general had been ordered to arrest him, caused Luther to flee during the night of the 20th of October, leaving an appeal from the poorly informed to the better informed pope; his friends Staupitz and Link had left suddenly prior to his escape. His parting letter to the cardinal repeated the objectionable remark contained in his sermon, that a fighter for the truth could not be injured, but would only be benefited by the ban.

On his way Luther received, through Spalatin, a copy of a papal brief, dated the 23d of August, which instructed the cardinal-legate, regardless of the pending hearing, to summon and arrest the heretic Martin Luther, and ordered the ecclesiastical and civil authorities (except the emperor), if Luther did not appear, to apprehend him, under penalty of ban and loss of position. Luther believed this brief to be a forgery but, strange as such interference with the trial may appear, the legate undoubtedly was provided with this authority which he did not exercise, in consideration of Elector Frederick and the dangerous temper of the people then prevailing in Germany.

The opinion was expressed at the curia that, in such a flagrant case, all formalities could be dispensed with, and the legate had strongly recommended Luther's conviction. At that time, however, the outcome of the king's election appeared to be considered much more important in Rome than the heresy case of the Wittenberg. In a letter of February, 1519, Cardinal Medici wrote to Cajetan: "During our days there will probably be no question of more importance and not any in which your Excellency could render a greater service to the Church and to his Holiness."

Neither Saxony's position nor Luther's case could induce the pope to offend Frederick the Sage, whose candidacy for the throne he was just then promoting: the decoration of the golden rose intended for Frederick was temporarily delayed on account of his "rude" actions but, in December, 1518, a special representative, the papal chamberlain Carl von Miltitz, came to Germany to deliver it in an impressive manner, and at the same time to take further steps in Luther's case.

There were disturbing rumors about the representative's powers and intentions; he really was provided with threatening briefs. Luther thought of going to France, while many of his friends deemed it best that the elector should keep him locked in a safe place. The legate made a very plain demand to surrender or, at least, to expel

Luther, but Frederick refused with the remark that he reserved his own right to judge and required no foreign suggestion. His position in this matter was rendered even more difficult by the fact that Luther published the proceedings at Augsburg, besides the papal brief and his own appeal to a common council.

For a moment it looked as if the court manners, ostentatiously shown, and the jovial mind of Miltitz would accomplish what Roman pride and the learned cardinal's conceit had been unable to do. During his intercourse with the monk, "who had such deep eyes and wonderful notions," Cajetan could not prevent forming an unfavorable impression. In January, 1519, when meeting Luther at Altenburg, Miltitz opened the conversation with pleasantries, and closed it, according to Luther, with the kiss of a Judas. The real instructions given to Miltitz did not speak of mediation and he evidently thought he could not execute the orders; his calculated amiableness occasionally contained remarks about dealers in remission, and even criticised Cajetan's actions, which gained him the hearts of many of Luther's followers and even caused the Reformer to write an humble letter to the pope, to admonish people publicly to obedience towards the Roman Church, and to agree to a hearing of his case before a German prelate (the archbishop of Trier), with the understanding that there would be no further utter-

ances from either side. Miltitz still hoped for retraction, but from the very start, Luther considered this out of the question, while he found the silence of his opponents very peculiar.

The most important point was that he became more and more convinced of the quarrel's greatness and of the baseness of his opponents, whose bitterness seemed to prove conclusively the justice of his cause. Although he started his letter of the 3rd of March to Leo X by speaking of "dregs of humanity and dust of the earth," and affirmed his loyalty to the Church, he was already estranged from this Church, even if his accustomed piety still rebelled occasionally. He who spoke of the Roman curia as worse than the Turks, of the papal Rome as Jerusalem, the murderess of the prophets, the bloody red Babel and the animal of the apocalypse, could not for any length of time keep from presuming that the pope was simply the antichrist. In March, 1519, Luther "whispered" this presumption to Spalatin, just after forcing himself to the writing of that humble letter to Leo X. This disclosed the inconsistency and contradiction in his position at that time. The merit of having shortened the period of transition for Luther belongs to that master of discussion, the great worker Johann Eck, who hoped to add to his triumphs in disputation, at Vienna and Bologna, a victory over the much-talked-about new theology of the Wittenberg people.

For the first time, Luther had to meet publicly an opponent of European reputation. He had long desired to find an opportunity for such a verbal discussion, being convinced that truth would prove most emphatically, in this field, its victorious nature. How slippery the floor of a scientific tilt is for the honest fighter, and what a great advantage routine has over enthusiasm, Luther discovered through a disputation at Leipzig. It was caused by a learned feud between Karlstadt and Eck, but when the last named made a sharp turn against Luther, the original cause was almost obliterated. Not how one of Luther's followers might debate, but how the master himself would conduct his case, was the center of interest when, at the end of June, 1519, during the imperial election at Frankfort, Eck and his opponents from Wittenberg met in the splendidly decorated hall of the castle Pleissenburg, at Leipzig. Ranke referred to the event in the following terms: "Two sons of German peasants represented two different tendencies, which still divide the world as they did at that time; on the result of their fight depended largely the future position of Church and state."

Johann Mayr, called Eck after his birthplace in Suabia, was no insignificant champion of the prevailing Church. The child prodigy, who entered the university before he was twelve years old, had developed into a scholar of considerable knowledge

and rare repartee. His conceit in taking advantage of dialects during debates was unpleasant, but he also employed eminent, scientific means. While a professor at Ingolstadt, he became interested in Humanism and succeeded in modernizing instruction in philosophy to a certain extent. He was the hero of debating at Leipzig, a real champion, whose powerful, massive body, penetrating voice and apparently never-failing memory earned him an early victory over the insignificant and awkward-looking Karlstadt.

A harder battle began when, on the 4th of July, the monk from Wittenberg entered the pulpit, so thin that "nearly all his bones could be counted," but full of life and fire. The principal subject of debate was the godly privilege of the papacy, the main pillar of powerful hierarchy, which this new Samson commenced to shake so defyingly and threateningly. Prior to the disputation Luther claimed that the pope's general power did not date back further than four hundred years, and declared Christ to be the only head of the Catholic Church; he took his principal argument from history, by pointing to the Christian existence of the Greek church which was independent of the pope.

Gass claimed, and justly, that this was the beginning of a historical criticism, "which, ever extending, partly overthrew and partly questioned the prevailing interpretation of history and referred it to a

future investigation." Eck, embarrassed, declared the Greeks with few exceptions to be heretics, and carried the disputation into a territory which was for Luther the most dangerous. He accused Luther of agreeing with the doctrines of Waldenser, Wickliffe and Huss, and reminded him of the condemnatory judgment rendered by the Kostnitz council. This resulted in a crisis; Luther either had to acknowledge defeat, or to combat the full power of ecclesiastical and national views. Here the prevailing Church doctrine met the popularity of the German Reform Council and the everlasting grudge against the terrible Czech heretics and enemies of the state; to side with the followers of Huss really meant not only to deny all Catholic but also all German sympathy.

Luther bitterly resented the reproach of Bohemian sympathy, but all restraint disappeared when his increasing excitement caused him to confess that among the articles of Huss were many which were Christian and evangelical. The word was spoken, and Duke Georg, who was present, accompanied it with an audible curse. Luther himself was frightened by his boldness and tried to find a way out of the difficulty, but finally remained firm and stated that no council was infallible, only the Holy Scripture. The art of the experienced disputant to corner every opponent did not fail, but at the same time it served a purpose of which Eck did

not dream, by clearly showing the Reformer the aim to which his whole previous development led. That was the breach with Rome.

Superficially regarded, the disputation did not meet with the desired result and Luther could not repress a feeling of disappointment. There was the ugly aftermath of innumerable quarrelsome letters, which kept him in a constant state of excitement; even his friends called attention to his violent temper; he realized more and more that he was right and could continue on his road like Albert Dürer who rode in full armor into the gloomy ravine of the forest. The specter of Huss' heresy, which his opponents so actively raised against him, lost all its terror upon closer investigation. Bohemian Utraquists acclaimed Luther as the "Saxon Huss" and the Church presented him with the tractates of Huss; after familiarizing himself with the original views of the notorious heretic, he confided to Spalatin that he had taught the lessons of Huss for a long time, and said: "We all are followers of Huss without knowing it, even St. Paul and St. Augustine are real Hussites. I cannot console myself in the face of this terrible judgment of God showing that the obvious evangelical truth was burned to ashes more than a hundred years ago and is still regarded as damned."

He now ventured to recommend publicly the re-introduction of the lay chalice, which greatly en-

couraged his enemies, who had already begun to represent him untruthfully as a man of Bohemian origin and education. On the strength of his letter about the sacrament, the bishop of Meissen (Misnia), first among all the church dignitaries, proceeded legally against Luther. The consequence was a very broad reply, pretending that the bishop could not have written anything so stupid, and blaming the Meissen official at Stolpe. Miltitz still tried mediation, but Luther paid little attention to him. His letters of those days quite frequently breathed the spirit of Huss and Tabor. In February, 1520, he wrote to Spalatin: "You cannot make a pen out of a sword. God's word is a sword, war, overthrow, vexation and poison; Amos said it meets the children of Ephraim like a lion on the road and a lioness in the forest." Luther became more and more convinced that a great upheaval was necessary and that God's judgment would come, as was then the popular belief. Revolution seemed to be in the air, particularly in Germany, and Luther also became a revolutionist; while fighting in the bright light of truth, he believed his opponents to be enveloped by the darkness of falsehood and malice, and was himself drawn into the circle of a mighty movement which was different from his gospel.

It was only natural that German Humanism adopted Luther's case as its own. The new fight-

ing spirit of Reuchlin's followers found here the old hated opponents again persecuting the young truth, and the aim of the bold Wittenberg theologian seemed to be identical with Christ's philosophy, which vanquished all outward show and craftiness of the prevailing system, as announced by the great Erasmus long before. The Humanists were favorably impressed by the movement away from scholasticism and return to the Scriptures, the sharp attack on revolting ecclesiastical abuses and the manly stand for right and conviction. Perhaps there was also a hazy idea that, so far, not one from their own ranks had so heroically represented individual liberty against authority as this monk did. During Reuchlin's struggle nearly all branches of Humanism had learned to feel a certain solidarity, and at that time they did not realize the danger which might result from a too close connection between the new kind of culture and the religious questions of the day; the opinion prevailed that the "purified theology" would be a very reliable ally.

Luther had maintained personal relations with Humanists at Erfurt from a previous period. Their recognized leader, Mutian, had his attention attracted to the wonderful preacher in 1515. The real home of Humanistic admiration for Luther, however, was at Nürnberg, which was considered in those days the most brilliant center of spiritual life

in Germany. Considerable interest was there manifested in art and science by circles of refinement, while religious questions were also looked after eagerly. Pirkheimer, a Platonist, had an idea of his own about theology of the future, as previously mentioned; in spite of his enthusiasm for antique matters he kept abreast of the times, which led from his favorite, Lucian, to the wardens of the Church.

However, the most enthusiastic center of reform ideas was the Staupitz community previously mentioned, in which, after the departure of the "common father," his colleague, Wenzeslaus Link, kept the St. Augustine sympathies alive. Besides the purified mysticism of Staupitz, Luther's writings soon found many influential admirers, although he did not think that his views were suitable for the "delicate, refined, clever Nürnbergers." Their introduction was undertaken by Christoph Scheurl, a jurist who formerly was a professor at Wittenberg and who also started a friendship of short duration between Eck and Luther. In changing the "Staupitzians" to "Martinians," he was probably the noisiest champion of the new doctrine; he declared that Luther's view ought to be everybody's view, as it represented God's word; nowhere was shown more plainly than in his letters the uniformly reformatory leaning of the Humanists. On the 18th. of February, 1519, he wrote to his friend Eck: "You will earn for yourself the ill will and hatred

of all followers of Erasmus and Capnion, as well as of all friends of classic studies and modern theology. Recently I traveled through some prominent bishoprics and found large numbers of Martinians everywhere. It is astonishing to see the preference expressed for this man by clergymen; they come to him in dense crowds and without hesitancy like flocks of jaybirds and starlings; to him belong their entire sympathies and blessings."

It must be remembered that the clergy contributed a large contingent to Humanism and that, in honoring Erasmus and his tendencies, even the majority of the decidedly conservative Humanists agreed with the bolder spirits. Men like the venerable Wimpheling, who did not even follow Reuchlin, and his friend Bishop Christoph von Utenheim of Basel, hoped when Luther first appeared in public that their old longing for a modest reform in keeping with the Church would be realized. Ulrich Zasius, a jurist of Freiburg, who beyond any doubt was also greatly attached to the Church, accepted everything said by Luther with such reverence "as if it came from a real angel" and, in September, 1520, after having warned the Reformer in a friendly way against his attacks on the pope's authority, he still praised Luther as "a phoenix among theologians," an "ornament of the Christian world circle" and "God's tool"; he also stated that he would rather live in abject poverty than

not to have known Luther's writings. Remonstrances to restrain himself came to him from some of his closest friends, but at that time nobody dared to talk of heresy except, as Spalatin said, the "followers of Tetzl, who despised all good arts and sciences."

Most remarkable was the enthusiasm at Nürnberg, where Luther's writings were kissed, his theses were translated into German by Kaspar Nützel, one of the highest dignarities, and Albert Dürer manifested his admiration by sending an artistic gift. The Nürnberg Association showed itself particularly powerful in its feud against Eck; in his "lecture on a respectable lover of God's truth," Lazarus Spengler, the secretary, called attention to the immense effect of Luther's teachings on the many uneasy consciences, which, formerly kept alarmed by the "preachers of fables and stories" were now rescued from desperation and led to the love of God. Even Pirkheimer published a bloody satire against the "sophist" of Ingolstadt, in which the vanity, scholastic lawlessness and strong desire for pleasures of the "polished Eck" were expressed in elegant Latin, but with the unadulterated earmarks of German rudeness. A small article sent by Humanistic friends of reform at Augsburg was still more stinging to Eck than the lashing administered by Pirkheimer. The author, Preacher Oekolampadius, although a follower of

Erasmus, was still such a strict Church man that he soon afterwards retired to a convent. He irritated the hero of the lecture platform to the quick by giving mean envy as the cause of his actions against Luther, and by declaring that his greatness was pure imagination. This movement of the learned and educated classes extended already beyond the boundaries of Germany. Luther's writings were quickly copied by the celebrated printer Frobenius of Basel and, even prior to the disputation at Leipzig, they were distributed in Switzerland, France, England, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain. They were most appreciated in Paris; the celebrated Lefevre sent Luther a friendly greeting. The Swiss Cardinal Schinner von Sitten, a splendid half-soldierly and diplomatic specimen of hierarchical worldliness, stated confidentially that Luther was an honor to his name and that he wrote the truth, against which all of Eck's disputing would be useless.

Luther could not help recognizing this increasing approval of the contemporary spiritual aristocracy; he could not repel it. Common cause seemed most advisable and the most fruitful combination of Humanism and theology appeared in the person of young Melanchthon, whose delicate, almost boyish appearance formed a peculiar contrast to his knowledge and the clearness of his judgment. Philipp Schwarzerd from Bretten, born in 1497, was a

grandnephew of Reuchlin and had contributed all his studies to the service of theology prior to the summer of 1518, when he was called to Wittenberg as professor of Greek; he began with lectures on Homer and the Titus letter. From the very start Luther admired, without any envy, the scientific superiority of the youth who matured early through steady and fortunate spiritual culture. Owing to this new friendship the Reformer wrote a respectful letter to Reuchlin in December, 1518, calling him his predecessor in persecution and his "venerable teacher." The letter remained unanswered because the declining years of the gray scholar were greatly saddened by grief over the impending Church fight; for that reason he also ceased to correspond with Melanchthon. Much more important was the fact that Luther condescended to start a correspondence with Erasmus. As mentioned before, he was fully aware of the gap between him and the "too human" theology of the celebrated Humanist. On the 28th of March, 1519, he sent his declaration of devotion, such as the prince of science received by the hundreds. Luther wrote: "Who is there whose innermost thoughts are not filled with Erasmus, whom Erasmus did not teach, who is not dominated by Erasmus? I am speaking of those who really love the sciences." Thus the great man was addressed by Luther, the barbarian, the lowly brother in Christ, the uneducated author of "remission

farces" and other trifles; the letter was written in fairly good style, but the humility was not very becoming to Luther.

Everybody seemed anxious to hear what Erasmus might have to say about Luther; so far he had tried very carefully to keep outside of and above the different parties, but it was useless. He claimed to have read only about a dozen pages of the Reformer's writings; nevertheless some of his remarks favorable to Luther became public property, and all his enemies were just as anxious as his closest friends and followers to couple his name triumphantly with that of Luther.

Erasmus was by no means blind to the fact that the Reformer was a powerful individual, and that for centuries not a solitary man had been hailed with such enthusiasm as a protector. Like Luther he also noticed the great contrast in their dispositions; from the first lines written by the Reformer, Erasmus scented the terrible specter of his life,— "tumult." He did not wish to hear even Reuchlin's doctrine mentioned in the same breath with his own, although in some points their views ran close together; but now Reuchlin and he came in contact with a man whose education did not entitle him to any Humanistic sympathy. Erasmus preferred to explain that their common opposition to the "dark men" was simply an accident. This unfavorable opinion was only expressed after Luther's breach

with Rome had become an accomplished fact; but even during 1518 and 1519, while speaking more or less favorably about Luther to such friends as Johann Lang, Justus Jonas, Melanchthon, Elector Frederick, Albrecht von Mainz and Cardinal Wolsey, and while sending a polite reply to Luther's letter, he never tried to hide his aversion towards all violence and vehemence. At one time he sent word to Luther to remember that the apostles never acted in undue haste and even St. Paul did not despise artifices and roundabout ways, if they were necessary to further his aims.

That recommendation was typical of Erasmus, the "holy, cunning" with which he tried to realize his ideal, namely, to reform the Church with the consent, or at least without the resistance, of the prevailing powers. In November, 1518, he wrote to Johann Lang: "I notice that the monarchy of the Roman high priest in its present form is the pest of Christendom, but I do not know whether it would be advisable to touch this ulcer publicly." His monkish opponents were on the right track when they denounced him again and again as the first instigator of revolution against the Church; nobody had been more successful in undermining the hierarchical authority without desiring its overthrow. Now it became more and more evident that a "German ingenium," with all his honesty and roughness, had taken possession of the work commenced

by Erasmus, who told Jonas most appropriately that it was impossible to "love Luther openly and in all security." To Luther he wrote: "I tried to be just to Christ's spirit by being as careful as possible in the treatment of those in power and of the questions in dispute, but this was exactly contrary to the conviction that the gospel is an annoyance to the world." In 1520, Luther referred to him in one of his publications as "a ram still hanging by his horns in a thorn bush"; how Erasmus felt at the allusion may well be imagined. Nevertheless Erasmus' conditional and cool recognition of the Reformation's beginnings was of no small value. It must be remembered that he always objected most positively to the violent measures of the pope and his awkward defenders. The aging man had a presentiment that in a serious struggle not confined to literary expressions, his prominence and the leading rôle played by Humanism, would soon come to an end.

CHAPTER V

ALLIES AND ENEMIES

LUTHER again spoke with high respect of Erasmus, the theologian, and even admired the cleverness displayed by the diplomatic savant in protecting him without acknowledging that fact openly. The Humanists of Erfurt, drilled for years by Mutian in admiration of Erasmus, were less discreet; since the master had rather hinted at than explained his position towards Luther's affairs, they turned their attention to the Reformer, although the nearness of Wittenberg and old personal intercourse had not caused any close contact up to that time. While the disputation at Leipzig took place, Justus Jonas, a jurist (Jodakus Koch from Nordhausen, born in 1493), spoke of a quarrel Eck had, not with Luther but with Erasmus, who in the short space of three years rejuvenated the Church of Christ and, so to speak, the entire world.

It was the influence of Erasmus that led the Erfurt people from classical antiquities to theological studies. While the university was being Humanistically reformed the students became

interested in the "philosophy of Christ"; Eobanus Hessus, the polished "king of poets," lectured on the "Handbook of the Christian Fighter"; Justus Jonas, whose Greek studies had little to do with old Hellas, lectured on the Corinthian letters; and even the fine satirist and physician, Euricius Cordus, tried his hand on the New Testament. All this was done with the approval of Erasmus, whom they called their "father in Christ."

Gradually the young theologians showed a marked preference for Luther, who became a dangerous rival and at times was acclaimed as a modern St. Paul, at other times as a Hercules or Achilles. At that time an old Erfurt resident, Johann Crotus Rubianus, resumed his intercourse with Luther, which had long been interrupted. His letters made a deep impression. A clever, experienced observer who, at the "headquarters of the pestilence" learned from first hand, related how unapproachable the curia was and how the pope and his "buzzards," in their self-admiration, could not be disturbed even by the strongest written evidence. Crotus, who secretly distributed Luther's writings at Rome and was careful in gathering information of public opinion, confronted either the simple argument of the pope's infallibility or the strictly Italian view that Luther was really right; but he dared not acknowledge the fact, since a dangerous overturning of existing conditions would result.

With all the more eloquence he explained to his German friend the disgrace and oppression of their home through Italian rule; in effect, he said that Luther, as father of his country, ought to be honored by fêtes and a golden statue, because he first dared to redeem the Lord's people from the ban of error. In the spring of 1520, when returning from Italy, Johann Crotus Rubianus accidentally met his beloved Hutten and wrote to Luther that Christ himself had arranged this meeting. On the 4th of June, 1520, Ulrich von Hutten the knight, addressed his first letter to Martin Luther, the theologian. A new power entered the Reformer's heart when he began to feel for his country, and to hate God's enemies as Germany's enemies at the same time.

During this first period of the movement, nobody had as marked an influence on the Reformer as the Franconian knight, who revealed his full, wild greatness under the vivifying breath of a powerful combat for the highest objects. He combined the Humanism opposed to the Church with the revolutionary tendency of German knighthood. It is a remarkable fact that the peasant's son, conservative in the depths of his heart, was pushed to revolution by the side of a champion who belonged to a noble family. It will be shown later on how the German nobility, for various reasons, became exceedingly dissatisfied with social and political conditions in the

country and gradually grew accustomed to thinking of a violent change, thus forming a revolutionary element. Owing to the moral decay of this class, which had lost all self-restraint and discipline, the realization of this upheaval would have been handicapped and the last vain fight against the princes would have been devoid of all grandeur, had it not been backed by the Reformation and its most genial representative, Ulrich von Hutten.

He was born on the 21st of April, 1488, at Steckelburg, a poor Franconian fastness. While of noble lineage, he had some wonderful experiences before reaching the front rank of his conceited fellow knights. The small and delicate boy was destined for an ecclesiastical career and placed in a convent at Fulda before he was able to understand "what would be useful for him and for what he was suitable." It was evident that he was not intended for a monk; he fled in 1505, before professing, and it was said that Crotus, a Humanist of Erfurt, assisted him in doing so. As was the case with old Hans Luther, the boy's father would not pardon his independent action and the young adventurer entered upon the life of a traveling schoolboy and poet, with all its freedom and lack of protection; Hutten had chosen the Muse as his guide, and the laurel wreath of the singer as the aim of his ambition. He was successively at Cologne, Erfurt, Frankfort, Leipzig, Greifswald,

Rostock, Wittenberg and Vienna, in ever-changing conditions,—sometimes camping on the road over night like a gypsy and begging bread in peasants' huts, sometimes fed and dressed by wealthy benefactors, only to be robbed in the most brutal manner of the clothes presented to him. His friends likened his case to that of Odysseus, the sufferer. Still he was not an ordinary Humanist; in spite of all his sufferings and humiliation he never ceased to feel and call himself a knight; the fire of patriotism, which was so prevalent among German Humanists, soon gained such power in his soul that it threatened to extinguish all other inclinations and interests.

This noble fire brightened Hutten's features and covered many dark spots, such as are generally found in people dominated by passions. During his first sojourn in Italy, from 1512 to 1513, he was temporarily obliged by lack of means to serve as a soldier under Maximilian's flag, but since going to that country his heart was filled with the thought of Germany's political misery. Many Humanists regretted, like him, the undignified weakness of the country and praised the emperor; few attacked the worldly papacy as sharply as he did and nobody, like him, made national affairs the very center of his thought.

His father finally decided to make him a jurist, but the plan was not carried out; his career as a

poet did not correspond with the views and prejudices of his class, which recognized only the calling of a warrior or clergyman and more recently that of a jurist, but his noble blood always showed itself. As a real knight he fought alone against five Frenchmen at Viterbo, who had made fun of his emperor. Truly knightly was the hatred he felt for the princes and which he was permitted to indulge without restriction towards the murderer of his cousin, Ulrich von Württemberg. It was not knightly, however, but rather Humanistic that he took great pains to make this brave deed known and that, as customary among poets, he flattered Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, one of the hated princes.

In 1517, he received the poet's crown from the hands of Maximilian and decided to enter the court service at Mainz. According to his own words, a quieter time then seemed to dawn for "this restless, active spirit." As previously mentioned, the budding courtier repressed his anti-French feelings and, as the elector's ambassador, went to the court of King Francis.

One thing he never denied, even to please the people at Mainz, and that was his burning hatred of Rome. In 1513, his epigrams spoke of Julius II as follows: "His work is death and his recreation debauchery; he is the pest of the human race." After that his pen was dipped in poison whenever he

had an opportunity to touch Rome and the papacy. Germany was still full of the commotion made by Reuchlin's and Arnold's followers when Hutten again attacked the pope personally by publishing the writing of Valla. As far as Hutten was concerned it was characteristic that this bitter enmity was purely worldly, half of Humanistic and half of national origin, showing no trace whatever of any religious interests. Even the platonic paroxysm manifested by heathenish Humanists when protesting against the religious march of the times, did not seem to touch him and, in this regard, not one of the poets was further removed in his feelings from Luther than Hutten.

It is no wonder that during the congress at Augsburg this knight, although feeling very bitter about the Roman demand for money and against the legate Cajetan, showed only a superficial interest in Luther's case. Everywhere monks were quarreling with theologians, but he said that, so far as he was concerned, they might eat each other. According to Vorreiter, this indifference preserved him from a deeper antipathy toward Luther, whom he was very glad to see as soon as the monks' quarrels began to develop into a serious affair between Germany and Rome.

This was corroborated in 1519 when, during the Württemberg campaign, Hutten started personal relations with the great knight of the empire, Franz

von Sickingen. His vague thoughts of liberty suddenly gained more weight. While Luther developed into the nation's talker and spiritual hero, Sickingen seemed to have been born for a military and political leader in the approaching time of the great transformation. Hutten undertook to bring the two men closer to each other, and at the same time devoted his entire spiritual power to the combat of liberation against Rome. The thought of marriage and a comfortable existence, which appeared to lure him just then, was soon dispelled by the restless storm. His motto was henceforth: "*Iacta est alea.*"

Sickingen, instigated by his new Humanistic friend, had just interfered with Reuchlin's affairs and temporarily intimidated the Dominicans. In January and February, 1520, he offered the Wittenberg reformer his protection and an asylum, in which the persecuted one could laugh at all his enemies. Hutten, whose publication of Constantine's Donation had just reached Luther, communicated with him through Melancthon, while Crotus personally approached Luther, who hesitated till the end of May before writing to Sickingen and Hutten. In the meantime, he had received similar offers from Sylvester von Schauenburg, a Franconian knight. The last named obligated himself to raise for Luther, from among the nobility, a guard of one hundred men. Hutten, in his above-mentioned let-

ter of the 4th of June, 1520, which was marked "*viva libertas*," stated that if the enemies used violence they could be met by an equal or even superior number of men. He wrote: "Let us protect the common freedom; let us liberate the oppressed Fatherland; God is with us; if God is for us, who may be against us?"

At that time Hutten, like Grotus the scoffer and other Erfurt friends, commenced to change his style of writing and, instead of using heathenish expressions, frequently quoted the Bible. Strauss said: "Sometimes it looks as though Hutten might dress like a friar, although only armor and laurel are becoming to him." With Luther also the influence of the curious blending was noticeable, because he frequently used in his letters the words *iacta est alea*. Here, as well as in his polemics, the changed tone was surprising. In March, 1520, after he had seen the judgment of condemnation issued by the faculties of Louvain and Cologne from August to November, 1519, he declared in his reply that nothing disturbed him except the cursing of a drunken woman. Among those persecuted like him he mentioned the names of Occam, Huss, Hieronymus and Wesel,—all Humanists,—Pico di Mirandola, Reuchlin, Lefevre, Erasmus and particularly Lorenzo Valla, whom he called a little spark left over from the original Church, whose equal in perseverance and zeal for the Christian belief, Italy

and the entire Church had not met in many centuries.

A few months later, while replying to a new letter of dispute from Sylvester Prierias, he closed with unveiled threats by writing: "If the Romans continue in this manner, there will be no other way but a violent ending of their disgraceful régime by the worldly powers. Thieves are punished on the gallows, robbers with the sword, heretics with fire; why not attack rather these masters of corruption, these cardinals, popes and the entire band of the Roman Sodom, with all arms and wash our hands in their blood?"

It is impossible to deny the revolutionary character of such words. Luther occasionally claimed that he did not desire any uproar but simply to prepare the road for a really free council; but these assurances were outweighed by the following remarks attributed to him: "I am firmly convinced that the pope is the antichrist; everything is permissible against his imposition and vileness; I am proud to say that I feel sure the nation will not abandon me but rather change Germany into a double Bohemia." He advised Elector Frederick, in replying to Cardinal Riario's letter urging proceedings against Luther, to describe most vividly the warlike mood of the Germans and the danger lurking in sharper measures from Rome. To his friend Spalatin he wrote briefly: "The die is cast; I despise Rome's rage like

her favor; I do not wish any reconciliation or anything in common with these Romans for all future time; they may condemn and burn my writings; in turn, if there is still any fire to be had, I will publicly condemn and burn the entire papal privilege." The boldness of this announcement of a fire judgment astonished the world. He wrote that Sickingen and Schauenburg had freed him from fear of men, but that he still expected attacks from Satan. He found in a wonderful manner a connection between personal experiences and the old fancies about the end of the world and the knowledge of an enormous stirring up of national powers.

Let us look more closely at the enormous amount of literary work to which Luther and Hutten devoted themselves during the year 1520, in a friendly spirit of rivalry. Never before had the light been turned on the nation's innermost thoughts and feelings so thoroughly. It may be easily understood that the words of the monk and the knight are still remembered, in some quarters with joy and in others with anger.

The year 1520 brought the long feared schism in the Church's unity and Germany's definite separation from the Roman chair. At that time it was still believed that, in spite of the great chasm dividing the Church, the German nation would remain united. It was the youthful period of Reformation,

rich in ideas and hopes, and trembling with a desire to fight.

Hutten scored first. Early in 1520, he completed a few pamphlets in the form of dialogues, from which he expected great results. *Vadiscus*, or the Roman triplicity, treated very fully the theme of Roman corruption and the financial exploitation of Germany, which subject was very often repeated in those days and varied by German readers and hearers. Many of the triplicities mentioned in the dialogue were very popular; for instance, that three things were carried home from Rome,—a bad conscience, a poor stomach and an empty pocket-book; or that Romans dealt in three kinds of merchandise,—Christ, ecclesiastical positions, and women. Hutten's pathos showed in the threat that three things could rehabilitate Rome,—the German princes' earnestness, the Christian people's impatience and a Turkish army.

The basic feature of his proposals was always force; he claimed that if it came to the worst, if Germany and Christianity did not have sufficient strength to liberate themselves, the Turks at least should execute judgment and inflict the long merited punishment on Rome and the clergy, not on the innocent people. In this connection he wrote: "Rome is the great storehouse of the universe, where things stolen in all countries are dragged together; in the centre is the insatiable corn-worm,

'devouring enormous piles of fruit, surrounded by his numerous fellow-parasites; who first sucked our blood, then gnawed the flesh and have now come down to the marrow and break our innermost bones, crushing everything that is still left.'" Besides this powerful language which, to characterize Romans properly, finally referred to the disgusting spectacle of bloodthirsty giant worms, appeared the other dialogue showing the audience playful and joyous; while there also, grudge against the wealth and haughtiness of the hierarchy formed the main subject, the realistic descriptions of German manners and rudeness and the comical face of the legate Cajetan, who desired to excommunicate the God of the sun on account of the gloomy German weather, permitted a mood not too serious.

Jesting and seriousness combined seemed to be the knight's only thought, which accompanied him everywhere and made a weapon of all his notions and literary ideas. He discovered and published an old anti-Gregor letter of dispute, from the days of Henry IV, whose memory was honored at that time by the patriotic zeal of the Humanists. A fine panegyric biograph of the unfortunate emperor was published by Aventin in 1518. Hutten devoted his find to the brother of the young King Charles,—Archduke Ferdinand,—who lived in the Netherlands.

The knightly agitator started in June for that

country, in a personal effort to win the princely youth over to the cause, and "to open a road to liberty through the great princes," as Melanchthon wrote in a too sanguine manner. Despite all his anti-papal declarations, Hutten was still in the service and favor of the Mainz elector. Shortly before starting on his voyage, he published a collection of documents from the days of the great schism, which he had accidentally discovered. The dedication, "composed on horseback," was addressed to all freemen in Germany, promised soon to destroy ecclesiastical tyranny,—the axe having already touched the root,—and closed with the words, *Viva libertas! Iacta est alea.*

In the meantime Luther, feeling elated by the knowledge of a great national position, had mastered the thoughts germinating in him in a manner differing greatly from that of Hutten. He sent them out like a compact army ready to fight. There was evidence that his horizon had been enlarged; besides man's relation to God, he had also become interested in the temporal desires of the people, or rather, feeling sure of salvation after hard fought battles, he began to look with different eyes upon the world and its contents, to appreciate it according to a different standard. He did not yet have a complete idea of life's new ideal, which is now fully recognized as the splendid fruit of reformation, ripened amidst need and trouble; but, while the old

PLE

ie prin:
a road:
elanchi:
vite all
n the se:
rtly bei:
ollection:
ism, wh:
dedicate:
sed to:
to dese:
g alrea:
ords, I:

ed by t:
had me:
anner d:
sent the:
There w:
d; besi:
me int:
eople, :
'd foug:
upon th:
ording t:
e a con:
ow int:
ormatic:
e the :



Luther at the Diet of Worms.



monkish ideal appeared to him more and more clearly as the greatest error and most fateful illusion, he considered that the "creatures" lowered by the old spiritualism should again come into their own.

This, of course, could not be done at once and not without the opposition of backsliders and stubborn stragglers; Gass called attention to the fact that, in many remarks made by Luther and other reformers, "the old theme of despising the world" was still used without change. Nevertheless, it is certain that in his great reform writings, during 1520, Luther rehabilitated worldly life and the state or, to use his own words, gave their "Godly" character back to them. Prior to that time, in his confidential letters to Spalatin, he touched the subject of unnatural relations between Church and state, between ecclesiastical and temporal vocation; but now he dared to discuss and answer these questions publicly before all the people, clergymen as well as laymen.

For a long time Humanists had worked for the liberation of the world from priestly tutelage. That the Reformer looked upon this problem in an entirely different spirit could be gathered from his polemic against "the reason" which, in his essay on the papacy at Rome, during May and June, 1520, was referred to as a dark lantern in comparison to the bright sun of God's word. This article, inspired by a "little monkey book" of Alveld, a Franciscan

monk at Leipzig, may be regarded as the real introduction to Luther's three following large works, because it defined natural, real and true Christianity as invisible and as a "gathering of hearts in one belief." It also contained the following sentence: "The only hope on earth is in worldly power." Luther depended particularly on the "brave earnest" of the German princes and nobility; immediately afterwards he wrote his celebrated article, "To the Christian noblemen of the German nation about improving the condition of Christians," in which, according to the views of the knights' party and intentionally omitting the princes, he addressed his complaints, desires and counsels only to the emperor and the German nobility. That was the boldest step he ever took and he knew it; in a fearless, genial dedication he wrote in June to his friend Amsdorf, "The time of silence is past and the time of speaking has arrived." In a later communication to Link, however, he expressed his conviction that the Holy Ghost had urged him to do it. With remarkable frankness he developed a programme of reformation based on religion, showing an ecclesiastical-political revolution as if it were quite natural and could not be otherwise. Such an encroachment on prevailing conditions, in regard to property and law, could only be considered revolutionary.

Capito, in one of his letters to Luther, mentioned

a threefold wall, behind which opponents considered themselves perfectly safe. Luther now took the trumpet of Jericho to blow over the Romans' three walls of paper and straw; first of all fell the arbitrary difference maintained contrary to the Scriptures between Church and state, and the other two walls,—the pope's exclusive right of expounding the Scriptures and calling councils, were no longer tenable. The new motto was: "All Christians are priests; after being baptized they can boast on being ordained priest, bishop and pope."

This view was carried out with unrelenting consistency; priests were reduced to the position of simple employés who could be installed or removed by the "will and order of the community"; hierarchy like everything else was placed under the state's jurisdiction, and the prevailing spiritual law was no longer regarded as binding. It was decided that Christ alone, on the strength of his priesthood, had the right or duty to "defend the faith, to understand it and to fight for it," but on the basis only of the Scriptures nobody should permit himself to be frightened away from this "spirit of liberty" by any false words of popes, who were mostly non-believers. Luther, contrary to an opinion expressed a short time previous, desired to intrust the reorganization of the Church to a very free council; he drew attention to the old church gatherings called by the emperor.

No council on earth could have followed the boldness of his proposals. He also declared, "The pope is to be deprived of all worldly power and court." Regarding his jurisdiction over Naples and Sicily, "he shall pull his hand out of the soup"; he must renounce his stolen Church state altogether and devote his attention to "Bibles and prayer books," instead of desiring to rule the world. The useless people, "that is to say the cardinals," should be reduced to one dozen, and the curias to the hundredth part of the present "vermins." Of course, the many resources of Roman art of financing, which were carefully and bitterly enumerated, and the frequently mentioned "Gravamina" of the German nation, would be discontinued without exception; celibacy, a demand of "devilish tyranny" should cease; the German Church, under a primate, was to be emancipated from Roman jurisdiction.

One of Luther's remarks was: "Make it a certain rule that whatever you have to buy of the pope is neither good nor from God." The details of everyday life and popular religion were also to be thoroughly reconstructed by limiting the number of convents, masses and holidays, and by completely abolishing fraternities, pilgrimages, remissions and dispensations, besides all church fines, which should be "buried ten yards deep under the ground." Laziness and extravagance encouraged by the Church were particularly referred to by the demand to com-

bat the prevailing habit of begging through regulated care of the poor, in which connection Luther thought of city institutions first of all. The entire system of instruction, from the lower grades up to high schools, should keep as its center the Holy Scriptures as the "finest and commonest lesson"; while in universities, so far "great gates of hell," the rule of the "blind heathen master" Aristotle was to cease entirely, most of the theological books were to be pushed aside, and the extreme crowding of studies was to be limited.

The fact that Luther had some understanding with the nobility would appear from the provision, in the midst of this inconsiderate criticism, that the ecclesiastical foundations should be continued as institutions for the care of young children of noble families. What else he desired in regard to purely worldly affairs seemed to be perfectly satisfactory to his knightly admirers. His sermon on good works, in March, 1520, showed his confession of faith inasmuch as it mentioned that excessive eating and drinking, extravagance in dressing, and investments in securities, were three Jews who drained the entire universe.

This declaration of war against money power and extravagance was now repeated; it agreed with prevailing public opinion as had already been indicated by sharp attacks on some large corporations, because it was claimed that such royal property

could not have been accumulated in the right manner, on the old ethical principle that God desired only agriculture, the land being naturally productive. Luther expressed his view as follows: "It would be much more Godly if agriculture would increase and business decrease." Owing to this agrarian idealism, which made him praise noblemen and peasants on account of their free, honest, godly nourishment, he spoke of dealers in silk and velvet as clandestine robbers. This was not exclusively the opinion of knights, but the nobility was hostile to cities, Hutten first of all, and could be as well satisfied with the determined manner in which Luther took sides against modern money power as with the sharp opinion expressed about the non-German jurist privilege. This was one of Luther's remarks: "Sensible rulers besides the Holy Scriptures are more than enough." After an explanation with the evangelical radicals he looked more favorably on the imperial privilege, while prior to that time he showed half national and half theocratical sympathies.

His idea on disputes about belief, which he expressed in a lecture for the benefit of an understanding with the Bohemians, was really great, and not yet affected by the future obstinacy of the theological commander. He rejected with disgust the Church's custom of overcoming heretics by fire. Regarding the dissenting doctrine of the Picards (Bohemian

brothers), about the Lord's Supper, and other quarrels, he advised that they be borne in brotherly humility, using the following words: "Submit to both sides' errors until they agree, while there is no danger, whether you believe that there is bread or not."

At that time Luther displayed the entire weight of his wrath against the power which clashed so hard with his own firm opinion. With great violence he spoke of the pope as the "poor, stinking sinner," the sinful antichrist whose power was devilish, whose spiritual privilege was a creation of the evil spirit, and whose financial management was like a county fair, a flaying place and a bawdy house. He added that the Christian nobility should oppose him as the common enemy and destroyer of Christianity; that the courtesans sent by him to Germany should either stop or, with their Roman seal and letter, jump into the Rhine or the nearest body of water, concluding: "Oh, Christ, my Lord, look down, let the youngest day dawn and destroy the devil's nest at Rome."

Staupitz tried at the last moment to prevent him from publishing such writings, but Luther proudly proceeded. His friend Lang called his work "A trumpet signal for the attack." The first edition of 4,000 copies was exhausted in a few days; new editions and copies followed in large numbers. At

the end of the book the fighter promised to sing a still higher tune for his "dear Rome."

This he did at once when, on the 30th of August, he wrote for the first time to the young emperor for protection and expressed his willingness to be taught from the Bible. However, his "Prelude to the Babylonian imprisonment of the Church," written in September and October, 1520, did not bear outwardly the revolutionary stamp of the preceding pamphlet. Nevertheless the attack, which was directed exclusively against the Church doctrine, was just as sharp. Of the seven sacraments only baptism, Lord's Supper and repentance were retained. Luther, who paid no further attention to the accusation of heresy like that of Wickliffe and Huss, not only demanded the laymen's chalice, as the sacrament belonged to all and not to priests alone, but also dared to attack the dogma of transubstantiation, "this horrible chimera," of which the Church during the first twelve years of its existence had not known anything.

Strong in his newly acquired freedom and having no inkling of his future obstacles, he rejected as "premature" all speculation about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament and, while formulating his own idea very firmly, he did not wish to exclude the opinion of others. Like the transformation, the sacrifice of the mass falls, and with it the most evident daily proof of the Church's wonderful

power and the priests' superiority. Luther could say that through this change the entire Church life assumed a new aspect; a real burden of mystery was thus eliminated, although at the same time a powerfully developed germ of religious feeling was hit at the root. While through prevailing love of liberty the belief of the individual is removed from all influence of human authority, Luther wrote: "I say that neither the pope nor a bishop nor any man has the right of dictating a single syllable to the Christian without his consent." Although in the light of sovereign Christian liberty the old system of spiritual tutelage appeared as severe tyranny and injury to unalterable rights, the long admired splendor of the monkish ideal grew pale in consequence of a new worldly view, that was quite democratic. The Christian liberty which all acquire through baptism not only confounds the clergy with the equality of common priesthood, but also looks very suspiciously at the endeavor for any particular holiness. As little as hierarchy and its monarchical development, could exist henceforth the so-called aristocracy of religion which, in its strictest world flight, could rise above the masses of Christians and on the strength of its vows and rules come closer to a perfect evangelical life than was possible for common believers.

Luther, the monk, felt reminded of hypocrites and preachers of falsehoods, of whom St. Paul, the

apostle, said that they would forbid marriage and the taste of nourishment created by God. He was convinced that the holiest or highest actions of a monk or priest, in the eyes of God, would not take precedence over the field work of a peasant or the housework of a woman. He could not find any proof in the Scriptures to justify the vow or the sacramental character of marriage. His own conception of marriage as a purely "worldly transaction" caused much offense, and it cannot be denied that the Reformer, while regarding people created for celibacy as rare exceptions, tried to justify the sensuality of normal men, even by doubtful means, and did not absolutely shrink from bigamy or polygamy. This was the strongest reaction against an excess of spiritualism that had prevailed for centuries, but in spite of all its rudeness it was necessary in connection with the great work of liberation. Luther said God would not be pleased in future at the spectacle of "some foolish saints, who hurt the body too much and throttle it." His thoroughly manly nature seemed to be much closer to antique originality in this point than to ecclesiastical asceticism or effeminate mysticism.

Nevertheless, during those days of excitement the mystic studies were revived in him. That was proven by his article entitled "About the freedom of a Christian man," which was caused by the still mediating Miltitz and regarded rather as a rest or

an intermission between battles. It must not be supposed that the Reformer went altogether outside of his great task, for he announced with much clearness and determination his doctrine of faith which alone, without any other endeavor, created piety; he wrote: "Good pious actions never make a good pious man, but a good pious man does good pious work." He also stated that the general priesthood should particularly serve to show in the brightest light the freedom of a Christian, who is a free master over all things and at the same time the humble servant of all things and submissive to everybody. Besides the absence of a sharp polemic, these words showed a mystic tendency plainly expressed by a number of remarks and pictures as, for instance, the affinity between Christ and the soul. He also explained that "inner man and God are one," that through his kingdom man is able to do anything, and through his priesthood is as mighty as God, but, besides this almost inconceivable honor and height, all the physical endeavor of the Christian should be to serve his neighbor or suffer his will, not to do his good acts because they are necessary and of benefit to himself, but "from mere love to please God." Luther called this pamphlet "a small book, judging from the quantity of paper used, but containing the total sum of a Christian life." In a noble manner and with powerful sincerity he offered what his heart contained, what

moved him deeply and still permitted him to remain cheerful and sure of victory during all outward storms and excitement of his own passionate soul.

Miltitz arranged with Luther to send this pamphlet with a long dedication to the pope, after dating it back to the 6th of September, so as to avoid all suspicion of influence on the writer by the bull which Eck had published on the 21st of that month. Luther used wonderful language in trying to justify his position and show his high respect to the person of Leo X. He wrote that Leo was much too good for this age and for the Roman chair, which had fallen under the wrath of God, and could not ignore the fact that his curia was worse than Sodom or Babel, that the Roman Church was the worst of all murder dives and the lowest of all villains' resorts, a head and empire of sin, death, and damnation, and that its only worthy and true regent was Satan; that he wished the poor pope, who lived like a sheep among wolves, a quiet life on a prebend or in his paternal home, far away from his present criminal surroundings. In closing, he wrote: "Oh, you most unfortunate Leo who sits in the most dangerous chair! Really, I am telling you the truth, for I mean well with you."

No pope had ever been addressed in such a tone of compassionate superiority. Melanchthon, however, considered the letter very modest. Perhaps Luther meant to impress Leo seriously with such an

annihilating criticism of the papacy, and with the assurance that he did not even think of a retraction or of submitting to a forced explanation of the Scriptures, and that he could not be provoked further with impunity. It looked like the challenge of a leader ready for battle, who had rejected the last trace of previous dependence and now sends a last warning to his former chief, whose superiority he no longer recognizes. Prior to writing the letter Luther mentioned to Spalatin that he intended to join his spirit to that of Hutten, who thought of using real weapons against the pope, if necessary.

This was an open state of war. It is hard to understand why the curia, while not ignoring Luther's actions at the start, permitted the whole year of 1519 and half of the following year to elapse before excommunicating the stubborn opponent. Up to the time of the imperial election there may have been strong consideration for Elector Frederick, but it seems strange that Leo X still hesitated after that election, which turned out contrary to Leo's wishes, principally owing to the part played by Saxony. At any rate the cardinals, theologians and canonists intrusted with the investigation of the new heresy required considerable time before gathering forty-one heretic articles.

In March, 1520, there was a rumor at Rome that the intention was for the present to condemn the erroneous doctrines by a bull, without naming their

author. Johann Eck, Luther's worst enemy, had already arrived and devoted all his energy to silencing the voices of those who recommended mild proceedings. Eck was consulted by the pope about drawing up the bull, and also appeared in the consistory in which Cardinal Cajetan was particularly active in representing the sterner view.

After several consultations and changes the wording of the bull was finally approved on the first of June. It was dated the 15th of June and surrounded Luther's forty-one condemned articles, the wording of which in many cases agreed with the version recently published by Eck, with an excess of solemn pathos such as was customary in documents full of vigorous expressions and effective phrases taken from the Old Testament. There were ample assurances of paternal love and forbearance towards the lost son, who at the start was called a fox, a wild boar and a wild animal; there was also a phrase to the effect that Almighty God's mildness would be imitated; but these words, though full of feeling, had no effect, since they were always known as introductions to the innumerable cases of judicial lack of mercy.

Among the condemned articles was one stating that the burning of heretics was contrary to the Holy Spirit. The period for retraction was fixed at sixty days from the time the bull was placed on public view in the dioceses of Brandenburg, Meissen

and Merseburg; a further delay of the same duration was granted for delivering the document of revocation at Rome, and if the penitent decided to bring it in person a safe conduct was promised. Otherwise the ban was to be pronounced against the heretic and all his followers and well-wishers, and the interdict would be applied to all the places in which they might be, while ecclesiastic and temporal authorities, as well as individuals, were obligated to surrender the heretic or to be punished also by the ban and by arrest.

The Roman chair furnished the most striking proof of an implacable attitude by intrusting a party man like Eck with the publication of the bull in Germany, and by empowering him to incorporate in it the names of a certain number of people to be selected by himself and to be cited for appearance before the pope. In a brief dated the 8th of July, speaking of Luther not only as a follower of Waldenser and Huss but also as approving the Turkish war and the burning of heretics, besides being a real "member of Satan," the pope reminded Elector Frederick energetically of the fact that Luther's boldness was generally ascribed to the protection granted by the elector and that Frederick had previously promised Cardinal Cajetan not to extend this protection any further after condemnation had been pronounced by the Roman chair.

The attitude of the careful old prince was very

peculiar and important. Neither the golden rose, which he finally received in September, 1519, nor the seriously considered possibility that he, together with his professor, might be excommunicated, caused him to deviate from the position previously taken. Fully as stubborn as his protégé, he indefatigably repeated that Luther had not yet been heard before impartial judges and convicted. In view of his careful regard for the formalities of the cult, for religion and ceremonies, he could continue to affirm that he had nothing in common with Luther's cause. His faithful friend Spalatin noticed with regret that, during the autumn of 1520, while visiting Cologne, the elector heard mass three times in one day. Nevertheless Frederick could hardly claim to be entirely untouched by Luther's doctrine; he was able to make the old harmonize with the new, like some friends of reform at Nürnberg, Ebner and Nützel, who permitted their daughters to take the veil, and made enthusiastic speeches about Luther at the festive dinner of the occasion. One of these Nürnberg people, Anton Tucher, was favorably regarded by Frederick, who spoke of him as a "good follower of Luther." His own religious life, while strictly devoted to church formalities, had arrived at a point where the Reformer's endeavor could be intelligible and congenial to him; once he explained to Staupitz the infinite majesty and power of the

Scriptures over all human subtleties and traditions, in such touching words that Luther might be justified in claiming some relationship between the elector's mind and his own. Without such a similarity of views, the consciousness of princely authority and justice would not have sufficed to make this careful man overlook the increasing boldness of his protégé, and even his letter to the nobility. The promulgation and publication of the bull hurt the elector considerably and strengthened his passive assistance. In November, 1520, at Cologne, when the papal muncio asked him in a rather domineering tone to execute the pope's judgment, he first talked the matter over with Erasmus, who jokingly replied that Luther had committed the double crime of touching the pope's crown and the monk's stomachs, and then quickly asked Spalatin to return to him his written arguments against the Roman proceedings. On the following day Frederick firmly rejected the nuncio's demand, while not hiding his indignation about Eck's words.

No more suspicious bearer of the bull, which had already been published at Meissen on the 21st of September, could have been found than this conceited and passionate scholar.

While the new apostolic plenipotentiary and nuncio abused his power, in revenge against personal opponents like Pirkheimer and Spengler of Nürnberg and the canonist Adelman of Augsburg,

he injured the cause represented by him, while having the satisfaction of deeply humiliating those concerned. They were obliged to go personally to their hated opponent for absolution and to swear off heresy, although at Wittenberg and throughout Saxony the ban did not become effective. In spite of Eck's threatening letter, the University of Wittenberg declared that, for judicial and political reasons, the publication was not feasible; the excitement of the populace was used in this argument. Eck first noticed this agitation when he tried to enforce publication of the bull at Leipzig and Erfurt. Even in the city where, a year before, he had triumphed over Luther, the students hooted and threatened him; he had no better success at Erfurt, where the academic youngsters made the bull swim on the water as a real "bulla" (bubble), after an edict, pretended to have been issued by the theological faculty, had invited them to destroy the document and persecute the "devilish nuncio and Pharisee."

After arriving uninjured at Ingolstadt, Eck felt so happy over his escape that he founded a votive tablet. The German episcopate did not display much sympathy for the papacy; all the bishops approached by Eck executed the bull after more or less resistance and delay. This hesitancy showed plainly that Eck was suspected of having been at the bottom of the pope's reprehensible action; the

counselors of Bamberg called him a low villain and fool. Philipp, bishop of Freising and Naumburg, who also had the title of palsgrave, informed Eck that he would look into the matter as did St. Paul, the apostle, to see whether it came from God or not, and afterwards would ask the advice of his metropolitan. The last named, Cardinal Archbishop Matthæus of Salzburg, did not send any reply at first to his suffragan's inquiry. Even the university at Ingolstadt hesitated for a short time before publishing it; at Vienna, the majority of the high school, under connivance of the bishop, opposed the devout theological faculty. The worldly princes, at first even Georg of Saxony, Luther's most determined opponent, were reticent. Wilhelm of Bavaria demanded of Eck to recall the bull, as it caused anger and uproar among the people.

Many things occurred to make Luther and his friends look upon the bull temporarily as a "nothing."

Sometimes the Reformer believed, when hearing about some evangelical movements at Venice, that God might perhaps awaken the Italian people to favor the gospel. However, with the young king's approach there came increasing indications that the opponents had very strong backing. This danger could not well be halted by the lukewarmness of the bishops, the attitude of a few universities and the fearless remarks of Hutten. Charles V at once

agreed to the execution of the bull, not for the entire kingdom, as the pope's ambassadors demanded, but for his own inherited territory. The burning of Luther's writings at Louvain was soon followed by similar fire judgments at Cologne and Mainz. In the last named city, however, it was done under derision and with threats against the nuncio, who was present. This was a beginning of the execution of the papal condemnation judgment, and the most discouraging part of it was that the king had started it.

Luther rose to his full stature in order to resist the united highest power of this world. Never before had one man, with such lack of consideration, declared war against the entire and sanctified order of established things. Like might against might, the Wittenberg professor faced pope and emperor; his answer was: "Curse against curse and pyre against pyre." As his opponents said, there was something demoniacal in his appearance, not in the true sense of the word, but in the antique use of it, meaning anything above common humanity; Luther felt spurred on by the spirit, considering himself a tool in the hand of God, before whom he did not recoil, feeling identified with him.

Since he had learned that the royal court was filled with the cowls of "begging tyrants," he counted no longer on the young ruler. As a complaining psalmist once said, the princes and the

mighty rebelled against the Lord and His anointed. On the 4th of November, Luther wrote to Spalatin: "It is difficult to contradict all prelates and princes, but there is no longer any other way of escaping from hell and God's wrath." He saw that the bull would be followed by an irrepressible uproar and desired to call to his side, no longer the princes but all Germans, large and small, and to appeal to the conscience of each one, so that none would have to regret in the hour of death his wicked obedience to those ungodly monsters. To one of his friends he wrote: "Whoever is favorable to this bull, or does not contradict it, can never be saved." In his first counter writings he deliberately spoke of the bull as wrong and addressed his lines to the emperor and princes, as he also did in a new appeal to a council, but now he wrote in German of the "bull of antichrist," for all lovers of Christian truth.

To the remark that he was trying to turn the priests over to the laymen, he replied that it would be no wonder if the princes, noblemen and laymen hit the pope, bishops, priests and monks over the heads and chased them out of the country. He also said all real Christians ought to trample on the bull, which had deserved more than a thousand fires, and send home the Roman antichrist and Doctor Eck, his apostle, with sulphur and fire.

Luther, in his numerous writings, which he seemed to accomplish more quickly than ever in

those exciting days, declared the pope a hardened heretic and condemned him, feeling empowered by being a baptized and true-believing Christian. For some time he had been planning a counter demonstration to the burning of his books; on the 10th of December, Spalatin reported on this subject to the elector. The Wittenberg students were invited on that day to the "pious and religious spectacle" of the fire judgment, which, "according to old and apostolic usage," was to be executed on the ungodly anti-evangelical books. A magister prepared the pyre at the foot of the city wall and set fire to it, with all the papal decretals on top of it. Luther then threw the bull into the flames and pronounced the following words: "Because you afflicted the saint of the Lord (Christ), be consumed by the eternal fire." Then he walked away. The students insisted on producing, after this very impressive scene, a supercilious satirical play, according to their own taste.

CHAPTER VI

MARSHALING OF FORCES

THIS was the fire sign of war for life and death. Luther afterwards related that he trembled at the first step, but after that felt jollier than ever before in his life. He realized the full importance of the moment and of his own responsibility; on the following day he tried to impress most vividly on his listeners the seriousness of the cause, saying that it did not suffice, for the papacy also ought to go up in smoke; that everybody would have to choose between the pope's realm and heaven, between temporary danger and eternal death; and that he preferred danger on earth to placing, by his silence, a terrible burden on his conscience. An enthusiastic bearer added to his notes that nobody could doubt the truth of each word pronounced by Luther, unless he be more stupid than a log, which was the case with all of the pope's followers; but that Luther evidently was an angel of the living God for all uncorrupted children in Christ.

Such moods were scattered far beyond Witten-

berg. Erasmus had been highly praised in letters, but now Luther was addressed as most holy high priest and,—by Hedio, a preacher of Basel,—even as God and Savior. Crotus wrote to him: "In your writings the Cologne people not only burned Christ's gospel but they burned Christ with the gospel." In one edition of the *Imprisonment at Babylon* the portrait showed the Holy Ghost above the head of the "heavenly Luther"; in another woodcut the Reformer appeared in glory. Nevertheless, the hero and saint of the nation was frequently represented with a companion, although as a rule it was not Erasmus, but Hutten. In 1520, a pamphlet recommended them to the young emperor as two particularly chosen bold and enlightened messengers sent by God. In the woodcuts to Hutten's little prayer book the two men of the "*læta libertas*" stood facing each other, Luther with a book, Hutten in armor. The translation of the Latin inscription under Luther's picture is: "I speak the truth," and under Hutten's:

"For truth I fight,
No one endorsed me,
Through dark and light,
God's spirit forced me."

During the summer of 1520 a change occurred in Hutten's position, which seemed to relieve him from all consideration for that which already existed. Friends warned him to leave the court of Archduke

Ferdinand because the courtesans had bad intentions, but even after returning home he did not feel safe from the daggers and poison of the Romans. Shortly afterwards Archbishop Albrecht received from the pope an order to proceed seriously against Hutten and his abusive writings. It was then rumored that the knight was to be dragged to Rome in shackles and, as Albrecht reported to the pope, he had hardly another asylum than with his friend Sickingen. He had not, like Luther, the protection of a mighty prince and an important university. Sickingen's position at that time was really grand and, according to an opinion expressed by Nuncio Alexander, it was more than princely.

Since October, 1519, he had been counselor, chamberlain and captain of the young King Charles, who received him most graciously on his arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle; this good will was increased when Sickingen lent his sovereign 20,000 florins, free from interest; the knight had accumulated money, not only through piratical expeditions but principally through fortunate mining operations, so that he could compete with the hated urban money power in its own territory. Sickingen also gauged the spiritual powers of the age differently from his neighbors, his ambition having risen long ago above the average level. There Hutten became his teacher, and the beginning of their closer connection occurred during the increasing excitement of the minds,

which soon placed every German before the alternative of being either Lutheran or Roman. Hutten had every reason to call his friend's fortified castles "shelters of justice," for, since the feared warrior had been won first for the cause of Humanism and then for Reformation through Hutten's merit, he kept his house open for everybody in need and danger through ecclesiastical intolerance. Luther and Reuchlin were invited by him, and he also sheltered behind his walls such ecclesiastical champions of Luther's cause as Butzer, Oekolampadius and others. Among his protégés since the autumn of 1520 was Hutten, who had no home. Sickingen had no education, but was very intelligent and quick to comprehend and soon felt the great power of Luther's language and arguments; like Lazarus Spenzler he could have said that, during all his life, no teaching or sermon entered so fully into his reason. He afterwards took up the pen to convert a man of his own station who had been opposed to Luther. Hutten believed that he had found his hero, the born commander-in-chief in the battle of truth and liberty. On the 31st of December, he dedicated the German edition of his dialogues to his friend, with the remark that in him it could be seen "without flattery or caress" that "German blood has not yet run dry nor the noble growth of German virtue been entirely eradicated." He

wished him great, serious and laborious work,—not rest.

What Hutten considered the principal aim of such heroic work was plainly shown in the title illustration of his little dialogue book. The pope was seen with his ecclesiastical crowds screaming and fleeing from the spears of onrushing riders and warriors. It was the violent fall of hierarchical rule, which Hutten at that time began to demand more emphatically than ever. His writings of those days were sword blows and burning torches; never was revolution preached with more eloquence, more fire and less mercy.

In September, 1520, Hutten ventured to send to King Charles and Elector Frederick a letter explaining candidly the necessity of a thorough revolution. The pivot of his programme was the secularization of ecclesiastical property and the abolition of the papal primacy; great reduction in the number of ecclesiastics,—one out of a hundred would be sufficient,—and of their income; discontinuance of convents and ecclesiastical independence of Germany; those measures he considered the means of obviating the Church's corruption and at the same time the state's weakness. Hutten formed a popular idea about the best use to be made by the state of Church property. Besides educational institutions and provisions for the poor, there should be a large army paid out of the newly formed "common

treasury"; the numerous and powerful elements of the nation living on robbery would then earn an honorable livelihood in the empire's pay.

It will be seen that Hutten meant to offer money and soldiers to the state, changing the knightly peace disturbers and masterless fighters (*Landsknecht*) into an army serving national purposes. He came close to the ideas advanced by state reformers of the fifteenth century, but strange as it may seem in this matter of practical propositions, Luther, the monk and professor, was much more resourceful and less hazy than the Humanistic knight, who nearly always dealt in generalities.

In his letter to the elector of Saxony, who did not seem much impressed by the invitation to take courage, Hutten, despairing of the prince's aid, asked whether there was anybody courageous enough to die with him for the sake of common liberty. He directed this appeal soon afterwards to the entire German nation, and he commenced to write German letters and German poetry. From an æsthetic point of view his poems may not have been very satisfactory, but their powerful effect on his contemporaries may easily be imagined.

Among the great mixture of instructive and prosaic matter, which at that time was appreciated in poets, there were sounds which, like the trumpet's roar, made hearts beat faster and again, as Strauss so beautifully expressed it, there were touching pas-

sages, which "make one feel distinctly how the human being in Hutten is absorbed by his zeal for the cause like a candle by the flame." The poet who, in order not to keep silent or to be a hypocrite, had to stake his entire existence, could well afford to call attention to his unselfishness and say that neither his pious mother's tears nor anything in the world could prevent him from fighting to a finish the battle begun for liberty in the interest of the Fatherland. How he raised his voice in his "complaint and warning against the excessively unchristian power of the pope at Rome and the unecclesiastical ecclesiastics!" Full of confidence he wrote to the "worthy King" Charles as the captain, starter and completer, in whose honor and submission alone he would awaken all Germany.

Here is one of his little poems, showing the old German spelling, followed by a translation:

"Latein ich vor geschriben hab,
Das was eim yeden nit bekandt,
Yetzt schrei ich an das vatterlandt
Teutsch nation in irer sprach."

"At first I wrote in Latin hand
Not everybody understood;
I now speak to the Fatherland
In German language that is good."

The proud nobility and the pious cities were to be united under imperial leadership, for the purpose of destroying ecclesiastical tyranny. The sentiment

is expressed in the following lines, also in old German spelling, followed by a free translation :

"Yetzt ist die zeit zu heben an
vmb freyheit kryegen, got wils han.
Herzu ir frommen Teutschen all,
mit gottes hilff, der warheit schall,
ir landrsknecht, vnd ir reuter gut,
vnd all die haben freyen mut,
den aberglauben tilgen wir,
die warheit bringen wider hir.
Und dweil das nit mag sein in gut,
so muss es kosten aber blut.
Vil harnesch han wir, vnd vil pferd,
vil hallenbarten, vnd auch schwerd.
Vnd so hilfft freuntlich manung nit,
so wöllen wir die brauchen mit.
Nit fraget weyter yemants nach,
mit vns ist gottes hilff vnd rach.
Wer wolt in solchem bleiben dheim?
Ich habs gewagt, das ist mein reim."

"Now is the time for us to start
The war for liberty God desires;
Come pious Germans from every part,
As help and truth our God inspires.
Come, warriors, and riders too,
And all courageous people fight,
The superstition is taboo,
The truth again will bring us light.
If it can't be done in peace and love
The blood must flow in scarlet streams;
We have the horses and armor above,
The halberds with the swords and beams.
If friendly warning now should fail,
There is no use in trying it;
No further question will avail,
We have God's help, the knot is split.
Who, then, could stay here in this clime?
I ventured it, that is my rhyme."

For a long time, the subject of war against the priests had been a favorite topic for prophecies,

astrology and popular predictions. Hutten had no such notions, but he treated his theme with real skill in many different ways, guiding himself by certain historical facts. First of all, he thought of the old imperial privilege of filling the Roman chair, which he believed to have been renewed by Charles the Great, but to have become permanently obsolete after his death. Then there was the example of Huss' revolution, the anti-German tendency of which he fully disregarded. Like Luther, he not only admired Huss as a martyr of truth, but even went as far as defending a man whose name for generations was pronounced with fear and disgust in Germany,—the terrible "God-fighter" Ziska,—as liberator of his country, punisher of the priests and avenger of the "holy" Huss; he even pointed him out as a model to his friend Sickingen. One of the Latin dialogues praising the great Czech commander-in-chief which Hutten published in January, 1521, with a dedication to Palsgrave Johann von Simmern, was attributed to Sickingen's pen. Like a red thread, the hope for the approaching war against priests, and for Sickingen as the German Ziska, ran through several dialogues, the first of which showed most dramatically the fight of the papal bull against German liberty and the "bull-killer" Hutten when, in the nick of time, "host Franz" arrived at the head of a hundred thousand soldiers.

In later dialogues, Hutten showed rather plainly his revolutionary programme, mostly under Sickingen's mask, whom he made proclaim that either he would get the emperor to dismiss his priestly counselors or, in case of absolute necessity, undertake something at his own risk. It will be noticed that at this time he had almost completely lost his hope of the young prince's assistance; the clerical influence appeared almost indestructible, and Hutten could not repress the remark that a prince so accessible to what is bad could just as easily cause his own ruin. In the last dialogue, four classes of "robbers" were represented; the notorious bandits appeared as the most harmless, then there were merchants and jurists and finally ecclesiastics, called the most dangerous of all; Hutten then, while not hiding his prejudice against classes, recommended a close connection between noblemen and citizens to combat the common enemy; he and Sickingen shook hands at last with an employé of the Fugger family, whom Hutten had previously threatened with gross mistreatment.

It may well be believed that Hutten really had the intention of changing his words into deeds, and that he had more than a mere plan to frighten his opponent. Luther, too, would have liked to see a well-planned, successful blow against the pope's legates. In November, 1520, Hutten informed Erasmus confidently that he soon would take up arms; he even

expressed the opinion that through Luther and Spalatin he could secure the direct or indirect backing of Elector Frederick. However, the enthusiastic knight did not know the inmost nature of his great ally at Wittenberg, who repeatedly had listened to the idea of a violent cleaning and reorganization of the corrupt Church, and yet shrank from the approaching realization of the often predicted uproar.

Luther still believed that God's judgment would probably descend upon the hardened Romans, but he only wished to be the prophet and not an accomplice. He considered it unworthy to attack the "unarmed crowd of the clergy" with sword and spear, but he forgot that the mighty German clergy was not at all unarmed, as Sickingen soon found out, having in case of need its contingent of riders and foot soldiers to take the field. At any rate, as he explained to Hutten, he felt a thorough aversion against the use of any violence in favor of the gospel. Luther wrote to Spalatin: "Through the word the world was conquered and the Church saved, so, again through the word, it will be rehabilitated, and the antichrist, who commenced without violence, will be crushed without violence." This did not agree with many other remarks made by Luther but, in spite of his passionate language, he never could have watched the physical mistreatment or destruction of an opponent with that unctuous

lack of mercy which was so masterfully displayed by the ecclesiastical judges of heretics. Even the enraged Hutten, who had recently met accidentally one of these gentlemen, the much hated Hochstraten, permitted his enemy to escape instead of killing him. He was checked in his desire for revenge more by the policy of his friend Sickingen than by Luther. Sickingen counted on the emperor's good will and on an important part in the French campaign, which was about to open. For the time he only used his influence at court in favor of Hutten, whom he recommended urgently to permit the opponents to hurt themselves through their excess of impudence.

Outside conditions began to show their influence on the peculiar movement in Germany. The spiritual struggle, so far carried on almost exclusively within the nation and in close connection with its special interests, was about to become indissolubly implicated in great European matters, and its settlement was to be effected by powers which had absolutely nothing to do with its original nature and tendency.

Luther's confidence in the certainty of final victory was as firm as a rock, and he did not think that any intervention on the part of the worldly princes would be desirable. Hutten, and those of his friends who thought as he did, might be loud in proclaiming that the national point of view was

the only one admissible in judging things German; they were nevertheless obliged to have an understanding with the emperor, and he was an emperor whose power could sustain a comparison with the worldly strength of his old Roman predecessors in the empire. He was, what long had been desired, what Germany's political weakness required,—a head of the empire with whom not one of the other princes could compare, not even from afar. There were fine prospects if "Karolus the noble blood" put an end to the much regretted scattering of power and reëstablished the "united strength, the monarchy"; if, touched by the national movement, he destroyed the priests' rule and again made Rome the Empire city; if he surrounded himself with counselors like Erasmus, Luther, Hutten and Sickingen.

Similar hopes were felt by the educated people of the nation and found expression in a mass of literature, such as letters, dialogues, poems, prophecies and pamphlets, only a few of which probably reached Charles personally. While comparing him with Karolus Magnus, he was referred to as Karolus Maximus. However, in squarely judging then existing conditions, the words of Humanists and theologians were as far from the truth as those of the simple men of the people who, in their awkward verses, paid homage to the long expected imperial reformer.

In a popular song, the "noble house of Austria" was shown as coming across the ocean from Spain with immense power and refusing to recognize the pope, but the composer's harmless ignorance was not greater than that of the Humanists, who were indefatigable in offering the papal income from Germany, and the wealth accumulated by the curia through robberies during centuries, as a fund to defray the expenses of the war, to a prince who was doing everything in his power to have the head of the Church on his side in the approaching Italian struggle. The highly excited generation of those days, in which the reawakening of national thought coincided with the feeling of power due to material, and spiritual progress and with a most impressive reorganization of religious life, did not comprehend the cool calculation of a diplomatic game of chess, in the moves and combinations of which Germany's immense unrest had hardly been taken into consideration.

Nothing could show more plainly the gap between the nation occupied exclusively with itself and the balance of Europe than the combination through which Luther was first placed within the view-point of imperial politics. In May, 1520, the ambassador, Juan Manuel, wrote from Rome requesting Charles to do some favors clandestinely to a monk called Brother Martin, in case the pope definitely refused to conclude the anti-French alliance or to withdraw

from it, but that only in that extreme case could such means be recommended. The man who, like no other, combined the peculiarity, the will and the conscience of the German people, was regarded by the political gamblers as a simple figure to be advanced or sacrificed, according to requirements.

During the Renaissance the state's art had so completely separated its exclusive aim and power from all contact with moral ideas, and the highly developed individualism of modern Italian culture had so thoroughly renounced all serious participation in the affairs of the masses that the majority of foreign observers could only comprehend with difficulty and not fully the true nature of the German movement. Nothing is more characteristic than the reports of the papal librarian and nuncio, Hieronymus Alexander, who traveled with the young emperor up the Rhine to be present at the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) in Worms. Although a prominent Humanist and better acquainted with Germany than most of his Italian compatriots, he could not rise above the prejudice that every man has his price and that every action is due to the vilest conceivable motives. He did not have the qualities of heart to feel the immense power of unsatisfied religious requirements; the mockery about the worn-out Roman apparatus of blessing and cursing he took for religious indifference, which was not a failing of the Germans during the sixteenth century, and if his

constantly praised panacea of bribery by money and favors, which he called "large and small hats," did not succeed, he knew only one way out of the difficulty and that was smothering the matter in blood. Nevertheless, he could not help recognizing the great danger and he wished that his Roman friends might see a little of the German unrest.

To this Italian the spectacle of a whole nation in wild excitement was as new as it was uncomfortable. In one of his letters he wrote: "Ninety-ninths of the Germans are yelling for Luther and the remaining tenth cry at least 'death to the Roman court' while all of them demand and clamor for a council. The majority of the clergy, all jurists and, above all, the fretful grammarians and poets, the followers of Reuchlin and Erasmus, are on the side of Luther; they were joined by a particularly dangerous element consisting of knights in reduced circumstances such as the scamp and satirist Hutten and others like him. I know pretty well the history of this nation, its heresies, councils and schisms; the situation never before was quite so serious. Compared to this the schism between Henry and Pope Gregor VII was nothing but violets and roses. These mad dogs are well provided with sciences and weapons and brag openly about the fact that they are no longer irrational beasts like their ancestors, that Italy had lost the monopoly of sciences and the Tiber had commenced to flow into the Rhine."

Besides the Humanists and knights there were among Luther's followers other classes, which the educated Italians generally overlooked entirely, unless the coarse demonstrations of this "mob" occasionally roused contempt and disgust. German observers had a clearer view; in 1520 Luther's opponents began to use the political danger of his doctrine in their polemic. According to their view, it would lead to a Huss war and to the "Bundschuh"; but among his friends, in the avalanche of unsigned or fictitiously signed pamphlets, appeared the figure of "Karlsthans and his flail," who now understood the Holy Scriptures and liked to emphasize his arguments with his fist. Under his mask was recommended the "justification" of authorities by their inferiors; it was claimed that even during those days kings, emperors, bishops and popes had frequently been prevented from doing wrong by their counselors, regents, parliament and protest of the common people. There were signs of an approaching union of ecclesiastical and social revolution; without being asked, Luther was made the idol of the peasants eager to revolt, their old enmity against priests and hope for "God's justice" being easily attracted by the new evangelical watchword.

The twenty-year-old ruler entered into a world unknown to him, greeted by an enthusiasm the language of which he could not understand. Only an extraordinary sensibility could have helped him

to pass this obstacle. But nothing of the kind happened. The astrological superstition of the time took exception to the circumstance that Charles had been born under the auspices of the unlucky planet Saturn, and declared he should develop to be "a Saturnical man," old even in his youth, not happy, and a misfortune to others.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRELIMINARY CONFLICTS

WHILE Germany was on the way to divest itself of its ecclesiastical world government, the rise of which was largely its own doings, the often lauded connection of the nation with this international principle had already demanded the greatest sacrifices. It had made impossible for centuries a healthy political development, and now it created a situation that was quite desperate. Only the political inability of the Germans of that time could hope for a moment that the immense power of this Spanish king would benefit their Holy Roman Empire, for whose crown the most noble heads of Christendom had just fought. One must admit that the thought of an imperial reformation of state and Church was not extraordinary, that Charles V himself had seriously thought of it, later on in his own way and contrary to the national demands. But this contrast was already so sharp that a peaceful and successful coöperation between the ruler and the nation was utterly out of the question.

We must try to understand the extraordinarily difficult situation of the young emperor. That he had the intention of doing his duty notwithstanding his youth is beyond doubt, that he was not of a genial nature must be regretted, but he could not be personally reproached for all this. Time often calls in vain for its proper man.

What about the real foundations of a world power whose extension was certainly imposing, and whose latest acquisitions in the West could not even be calculated at that time? France could not compete with these large countries and their manifold resources. However, the forces which were at the command of Francis I had the advantage of much larger concentration and readiness; nowhere in the world could a ruler "nationalize" his ambition and make a nation forget its internal troubles through the excitement of its foreign policy as in France. Only by degrees had Charles V been able to secure for the monarchy a similar situation in Spain; but at the beginning the geographical separation of the numerous dominions, the great inequality of their governmental rights, and the different interests, made a general union extremely difficult. Baumgarten expressed himself thus: "His power was at the same time his weakness." If we leave the transoceanic possessions out of the question for the present, the European dominions of the House of Hapsburg (they could not be looked upon as one

real, united state) are to be classified in four main groups,—the Spanish, Burgundian, German and South-Italian lands. Milan, Bohemia and Hungary were still outside the fold. The manifold princely rights, whose number could only be repeated in an endless succession of titles, could not be even guessed. To be a king in Castilia was different from being a king in the almost republican Aragon, while the same prince reigned as duke in Brabant, as margrave in Antwerp, and as count in Holland, Zealand and Flanders. Everywhere the monarchy appeared to be restricted through internal institutions; it must deal in Spain with the cortes of the several kingdoms, in Sicily with the parliament, in the Netherlands with the states in general and sometimes with single provinces and towns, and in Germany with the Reichstag, in order to regulate the rich financial resources for its purposes. It is true, before the imperial election the German princes were notified concerning the emperor's dominions and revenues, which apparent exactness was apt to create exaggerated ideas; not less than twenty-five kingdoms figured besides an immense number of smaller principalities, among them the crown of Jerusalem, the duchy of Athens and many others in the neighborhood, all of which had been taken from their rightful rulers. The "Isles of India and Hartland of the Oceanic Sea" were mentioned, and especially their vast riches of gold which probably would not

exhaust "as long the world would last," and it was further reported that the king was enjoying, from his Spanish, Italian and American lands alone, an income of not less than four and one-half million ducats. Baumgart said: "If he had really had this, the world would have taken another course."

It is to be remembered that in this figuring the Netherlands,—which a Venetian statesman designated as the true gold mines of the emperor,—were not included. The revenues of the king of England were estimated at only 350,000 ducats. But for over half a century the income of the Spanish government from the precious metal mines of other countries was very small, and the financial distress of Charles V was well known. Instead of regulating his expenditures in accordance with his revenues, he made all kinds of doubtful bargains by pawning and taking up large loans for which he paid usurious interest, in order to keep up his expensive foreign policy.

In the service of this world-wide policy, whose ever increasing tendency resulted from the nature of the inherited Spain-Hapsburg colossal empire, the great task to be accomplished was to unite the diverging power of all the lesser rulers. The first attempt in Spain, which threatened the existence of the empire in its form at that time, was of the greatest importance for the further development of Charles V. He could see that it was an impos-

sibility to unite his monarchy, as he had inherited it, with the tremendous development of the national elements; he realized that his ways and his people's were decisively not the same, and that he could insist upon his own only by force.

The Spaniards quickly found the reign of a foreign monarchy unbearable and later they retaliated with interest. In their opinion they were entitled to that rank among the Christian nations which other people through their noble birth could claim. But how could Italians or Netherlanders, the sons of magnificent culture, admit a preference in this national abandonment of the material interests? The followers of Charles, on his first march to Spain, regarded with irony those "noblemen" without shoes and stockings, who received them on the Asturian coast and who, notwithstanding their poverty, immediately treated the king to the sight of a bullfight. Like the highest of their rank, they were exempted from paying taxes, while the working classes (*pecteros*) derived their name from the fact that they were obliged to pay taxes. Moreover, when in contact with other "nobility," Charles' followers from the Netherlands could not hide their feeling of superiority.

Immediately after his carnival the young king let the cofounder and faithful guardian of the Spanish monarchy,—the old Cardinal Jimenez,—feel that his future services were no longer required. When

the cardinal died, without ever having seen his new master, his archbishopric of Toledo fell to a Netherlander boy, the nephew of the mighty Chievres. Another Netherlander, Sauvage, became the great chancellor of Castilia. The growing bitterness of the Spaniards showed itself in the sullen attitude of the different cortes, while a nobleman like the duke of Alba quite openly declined to accompany the king to Aragon, although the ruler had personally requested it, saying he did not want to lose his time with such occupation. The Castilian attorneys had to teach Charles that the king, as a paid official (*mercenario*) of his subjects, who put their persons and incomes at his disposal, was obliged on his part to exercise justice. In their eighty-eight requests they developed a reform programme which touched upon the different bad circumstances that existed, especially the excesses of the curia, the growth of the "dying land," the pressure of the Inquisition, the depletion of the forests, and the exportation of money. They urgently wished the expulsion of foreigners holding Spanish offices, the early marriage of the king and permission for the Infante Ferdinand to remain in Castilia; this was based upon the well-founded opinion that only a careful and truly national government could save the country from threatening disintegration. For the internal conditions of Spain at that time were not able to stand such oppressive treatment as was meted

out by the obnoxious Chievres and other foreign officials. These gentlemen strove to get as much as possible out of their unwelcome sojourn in Spain, and the young king's interests lay too much outside the country from which he desired to obtain much financial aid to cover the expenses of his imperial policy.

An extraordinary taxation of 600,000 ducats was levied in Castilia, but the control of it was not left to the cities as promised; it was given to usurers, to whom the entire amount of the taxes had been pledged in order to pay the promised sums to the German princes. Notwithstanding an already existing unrest, the same measures were used in Aragon and Valencia, in order to be able to exercise pressure upon the higher classes. Then speedy departure for England and Germany was urged, as a revolution had already broken out in Castilia. Amid the tolling of church-bells and by force of arms, the king fled from Valladolid through the only town gate which was still open. The monks began to preach rebellion; on April 21, 1520, the royal castle was in the hands of the revolutionary commune. Not till a month afterwards did the fleet of the king, which had been held up by an unfavorable wind, leave the Spanish coast.

We shall picture the revolution of the *comuneros*, the development of which took place far from the other parts of the world, though its result

was highly important for Charles V and the further success of the European policies. The politics of neighboring France scarcely sought to get in touch with these events, which rigidly uncovered the internal mistakes of the much praised reign of the Catholic kings, and which represent a last desperate attempt in Spain to gain for the citizens a worthy position in the government. There was no want of political insight among the higher civilian classes, as shown by the reform propositions, and the indignation at the haughtiness and egotism of the aristocracy which caused a tremendous development of all their forces while the nobility, repulsed by the kingdom, at first merely watched the growing anarchy. The regent who had been left, the cardinal and grand inquisitor Adrian, an old teacher of Charles, was powerless and wrote the emperor frankly that the rebellion seemed to be the work of the grandees. In reality, the antiaristocratic character of the movement, especially in Valencia and Castilia, showed itself more and more. In the towns the heretofore powerless communities, the *comunidad*, seized the reins and representatives of these communes united under the title "holy *Junta*"; they endeavored in vain, however, to secure the consent to their doings from the insane Queen Juana, in Torsedillas. They desired to arrange the reform of the local laws and the cortes by royal sanction, and even tried once to approach Charles himself.

But the excited passion of the masses, which were well aware of their power through the armed Germania (brethrenship) of the Valencian workmen, pushed further than the Junta itself wished; here and there the peasants began to rise against their masters, the "converts" (Jews and Moors) in Andalusia joined the movement and so did that peculiar ecclesiastical rebel, Antonio de Acuna, bishop of Zamora, who organized an army in the north with the treasures robbed from the churches, and was declared by the pope to be a "second Luther." At Mallorca the children of noblemen were compelled to serve as targets for the arrows of the comuneros, for the wild cruelty of the southerners had been awakened. The nobility could do nothing else but side with the royal government. If King Ferdinand had tamed the rebellious grandees with the aid of his cities, the aristocracy would have helped the king, who had actually done nothing to stem the rebellion, to overcome the common enemy. The comuneros had no genial leader; neither the characterless bishop of Zamora, nor a dreamer like Juan de Padilla, the chosen hero of the Castilians, was strong enough for such a position. On the 23rd of April, 1521, the army of the comuneros was beaten by the *condestable* (constable) Velasco at Villalar, between Valladolid and Zamora; their leader Padilla ended on the scaffold. With this the fate of Spain was decided for centu-

ries; citizenship, everywhere in western Europe the most important source and guarantee of a healthy cultural development, had not yet obtained there a real significance, and at its attempt to gain its position by force, was crushed so decisively that it remained entirely broken.

Reference to the golden age of Spain under her great emperor is often heard, but there is a peculiar significance concerning this glitter. On close investigation it is found that this state did not govern with its own insufficient and dying strength, but while the nation strove to be for Europe that which nobility, clergy and the military was for single peoples, it also took care that Europe paid for it. The precious metals of the New World, whose influx did not for centuries gain more significance for the mother land, had such an overpowering influence upon the Spaniards,—in whose national character are avarice and love of adventure,—that the increase of the home products could not counterbalance this far-reaching demoralization.

The conquest of Mexico took place on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, at the same time as the unlucky revolution of the *comuneros*. The noblest and greatest among all *conquistadores*, Ferdinand Cortez, fought and suffered with almost superhuman persistency until, on August 13, 1521, a few months after the decisive days of Worms and Villalar, the capital of the Aztec empire fell. With a troop of

a few hundred fellow-countrymen Cortez, as adventurer and rebel against the royal governor-general of Cuba, had founded the "New Spain of the Ocean." This man of great will power, born to be a ruler and statesman, was not satisfied with supplanting the Mexican religion, which sacrificed human lives, with the Christian religion and with seeking gold, but he created a higher social culture in the conquered country, and hoped to discover an isthmus between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, in order to be able to transport Spanish merchandise by the shortest possible route to the East Asiatic Islands.

The thoughts of the young emperor were very little with Spain, and still less with India, when he landed at Dover in May, 1520, received by the imposing minister of Henry VIII. A short time afterwards Charles was also welcomed by his royal "uncle and good father." The actual ruler of England in those years was Cardinal Wolsey. Like Thomas à Becket, this genial and ambitious priest who joined the Church unwillingly, had risen from the lower middle class, through his own efforts, until he enjoyed,—to use the expression of a Venetian ambassador,—"seven times more popularity than if he had been pope himself." He did not wish to hide his importance from the world at large. It is well known that he surrounded himself with great luxury. Anyone seeking an audience with

him was compelled to appear three or four times before it was granted, and then to pass through eight beautiful tapestried rooms to the chamber of the cardinal. He was not yet fifty years of age and was in the zenith of his power; courted by France and Spain, given a pension here and a bishopric there, tempted by the chance of securing three crowns, he knew how to keep the two rivals in the dark concerning England's real designs, and to give his peace policy a preponderating influence. In judging the character of Wolsey, it cannot be said that he tried to sacrifice the interests of the state to his own personal advantage. On the contrary, it seems that his attempt to restrain the king, whose acquisition of the Roman crown he had only apparently consented to on account of an extensive continental war policy, was entirely justified from a national standpoint. Of course it was not justifiable in the opinion of the English aristocracy, to whom the person of this parvenu was not less disgusting than his peaceful political tendencies. As has been lately proved, the negotiations of the cardinal with France and the emperor, to obtain most favorable conditions for the English commerce in the Netherlands, take a prominent place in history, while the same concern for the material interests of the nation afterwards caused that lukewarm and insincere attitude of England in the fight with Francis I. In the summer of 1520 Wolsey tried, after his great peace pact

of 1518, inasmuch as the emperor's election had no longer a chance, to keep Spain and France apart by dealing with them separately from time to time. Towards the end of May Charles V appeared in England, where already a second meeting between him and Henry VIII had been agreed upon. Before this, that interview between the kings of France and England had taken place which was called the "Lager von Goldstoffs" (camp of gold brocade), the political side of which was lost sight of in comparison with the courtly proceedings. So far as the tourneys (duels between two mounted knights), banquets and dancing, were concerned, the two young monarchs were experts; their intercourse, which soon dispensed with the precautions previously observed, began to be more than hearty, but the roughness of the athletic Tudor soon received a very good lesson when, after he had challenged his royal brother to a wrestling match, he was speedily vanquished within sight of the entire court.

Shortly afterwards Francis became alarmed over the second interview between the emperor and Henry, but Charles did not receive, at Calais, full assurance as to the future attitude of England. Henry VIII could have referred to his formerly given declaration that he would assist the one attacked against the aggressor, for the real point of the English policy lay in the determination not to

allow the two adversaries to make war against each other, and also not to permit them to come to an agreement behind England's back. Therefore, the idea of a betrothal of Charles with the young daughter of Henry was taken up, although she was already the fiancée of the Dauphin (French successor to the throne), and Charles had obligated himself to marry a French princess. This caused distrust at the French court against the emperor, which was furthered by English disclosures about his warlike designs.

There was still another power besides England to be reckoned with. Pope Leo X, personally concerned as ruler of the Church state about the demands of France and Spain in Italy, had sided with France. On the twentieth of January, 1519, he formed an alliance with Francis and, in sharp contrast with the peace policy of Wolsey, he hoped, even after his defeat in the matter of election, that a war would break out, since it would offer a realization of his ambitious plans for the House of Medici and the Church state. He once explained to the Venetian ambassador that it would be possible to attack Charles in Flanders, Navarra and Austria simultaneously, and to place him in such a helpless situation that he would not know whither to turn. But, as he expressed himself, he did not like "to put the bell around the cat's neck" himself. Up to the last moment he thought he could reserve his

final decision by dealing with both parties at the same time. Spain was in the best position to meet the financial wishes of the pope. Leo received 18,000 ducats for consent that the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo should be divided, and 15,000 ducats when he gave consent to the marriage of Charles' sister with the king of Portugal. Charles was said to have offered 10,000 ducats per annum for the lien of Naples, but the pope asked 22,000.

In this double game Leo felt somewhat ill at ease, because he did not know what trump the English statesman might play; he looked with a mixture of hatred and fear upon this cardinal who treated him haughtily. Wolsey had once given the imperial ambassador the assurance that it would be easy to make the holy father comply with the wishes of the emperor, for the pontiff needed a guide like a blind or near sighted man. This matter was attended to in Rome by the emperor's ambassador, Juan Manuel, but it was an easy matter to trap a prince so undecided and so absolutely lacking in moral scruples. It can be concluded from the erring papal policy during the year 1520 that Leo tried for a time to urge the emperor to attack France and, angered by the love for peace of Chievres, rested his entire hope again on Francis I.

Highly characteristic was his procrastinating attitude towards the Church—disgracing the bishop

of Zamora, whom France was allowed to propose at Rome for elevation to the chair of Toledo, without receiving a refusal on general principles. After the death of the pope's relatives,—his brother Giuliano and his nephew Lorenzo,—it was his heart's desire to acquire Ferrara for the Church state; an attempt to take it towards the end of 1519 miscarried, but in April, 1521, Manuel reported from Rome that the pope would again take the side of France if he received aid against Ferrara. Duke Alfonso even believed he was threatened with papal poison, as Luther and Hutten were. That Leo did not hesitate to overpower an adversary by a shameless ruse, was experienced by the tyrant of Perugia, Baglion, who trusted in a letter of safe-conduct from the pope and dared to go to Rome, where he was put on the rack and then decapitated. Was it surprising that, on account of such political practices, good Catholic princes and statesmen showed great distrust towards such an intriguer, who occupied the papal chair as the representative of Christ?

One must always remember the deep distrust between the emperor and the pope, in order to understand the handling of the most prominent German question at the imperial diet at Worms. And we must refer to the moment in which the emperor was first apprised of the difficulties of his German reign.

The empire, in the absence of the king, was presided over by the vicars of the Palatinate and Saxony as regents, and having suffered no internal disorders after the defeat of the duke of Württemberg, could await the late appearance of its new ruler without serious results. Mainz and Saxony had tried to hasten the king's arrival by the complaint that his long absence had caused trouble here and there concerning rights, laws and morals, and that a terrible conflagration threatened to seize entire Germany.

In the meantime, the young emperor and his entourage had been shown to the arriving ambassadors in the most favorable light. There were those of the pope, of the kings of France, England, Portugal, Denmark and Poland, the republic of Venice, of different Italian princes, the Netherlands (who joined in the winter of 1519), and the imperial court of Molino del Rey, including the envoys of the princes, of the dukes of Bavaria, of the Austrian lands and the town of Nürnberg. It was especially noticed how well the king looked and the reports of his being sickly were thus contradicted. He could not be called handsome, but his good physical development was shown when he sat on his horse or played ball. His political aptitude and dignified "altliche" (oldish) conduct were especially emphasized by his counselors; at the same time Chievres was much praised before the Germans,

and it was said that he did not lean towards France. Even Scheurl, his enthusiastic admirer, could not overlook the fact that the whole court talked French with the prince (they said it was Wallonic), and the few High Germans could do nothing, while the Burgundians seemed to be all-powerful.

Quite in contrast with the usage in the German Empire, the margrave Johann of Brandenburg recommended to the Austrian ambassadors not to speak German, "for his Imperial Majesty and all his eminent counselors do not know the language." It was evident that there could be no German, but a strict Catholic head. Charles prayed during the Church services with such fervor and kissed the holy images so frequently on the mouth and eyes, that it seemed to Scheurl as if the emperor had changed from the king of kings into an humble, pious man of the people.

He refused to take part in the court dances in England. When he entered Antwerp through the triumphal arches he did not throw a glance at the beautiful decorations and the figures of naked women. This intense earnestness harmonized better with the ancient forms of the Roman royal crowning than with the effervescent worldly ways of the Renaissance. The coronation took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 23, though a part of the princes, afraid of the rumor that a pest had broken out in the crown city, desired that the festival should be

at Cologne. But Charles insisted upon receiving the crown at the same holy place as all the other Roman kings before him had done, with the exception of Ruprecht. There is no doubt that he swore with deepest conviction his coronation oath, which expressly charged him with the duty of upholding the ancient Catholic belief and submission to the pope and the Roman church. The archbishops of Cologne and Trier anointed and crowned him. The day after a papal breve was published which allowed the king to take, like Maximilian, the title of an elected Roman emperor. And Charles always considered it his dignified prerogative, as Roman emperor in the old sense, to be the protector of Christendom and the Church. His duty was no other than that of the great German emperors, only with the difference that the national element was entirely eliminated. His natural inclinations were Burgundian, not German, nor dynastic, nor national; he therefore never lost the feeling, in treating with France, that he was a Burgundian prince. But he soon became accustomed to the high-minded manner of speech and thinking which could never be separated from the idea of the divine universal monarchy, and on account of this, the saying that there was in his sober head no room for the fantastic, cannot be maintained.

The words with which the emperor announced his departure from Spain and the appointment of

a regent, might have appeared to the Spaniards like sarcasm, but they became later on a political worm to him. Spain remained the "citadel of all empires" for a ruler whose absolutism always found in that country less resistance than with the broken power of particularism in Germany. The grand chamberlain Chievres was still considered the foremost leader of his policy; this aged statesman, as heretofore, strove to strengthen the power of his young master through pacific means. But the great chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinaria, a born Piedmontese who had already served under Maximilian, made himself prominent again; he knew how to unite the sharp and unvacillating judgment of the jurists with great amiability in personal intercourse. But the many different conditions in the numerous lands made a division of the state affairs imperative. Charles had already appointed—in July, 1519—a regency for his inherited Austrian lands, which was to take care also of his interests in the empire. Accordingly there was a special German council after his arrival, in which Cardinal Matthæus Lang,—since 1519 archbishop of Salzburg, but generally known by his former title as bishop of Gurk,—tried to maintain the influence he had possessed since Maximilian's time.

This proud son of a citizen who had been admitted only reluctantly by the noble clergy of his home town, Augsburg, came near having the desire to

rule the high aristocracy of the German empire like a German Wolsey; he showed the same well-calculated haughtiness when he passed in procession, accompanied by some eighty courtiers, a genuine representative of the ecclesiastical worldliness. However, the most important rôle was played during the election of 1519, by the formerly mentioned Maximilian von Zevenberghen, a Netherlander quite familiar with the German and Swiss matters of state. It was chiefly to his credit that the Württembergian question was solved at this time in accordance with that Hapsburg policy whose traditions he defended with the utmost energy against the financial and political doubts of the imperial court. His great aim was to pave the way for the House of Hapsburg to the German monarchy, as it had been proclaimed in an order that the princes and other dignitaries in the holy empire of his majesty must be obedient and carry out the wishes of his majesty, though a ruler of Austria could be king or emperor if he wished, and the other princes must ride to court and serve him.

The strengthening through Württemberg, even without the empire, would give to the House of Austria power over all other princes "to make laws and to reign." This change into a monarchy of the Hapsburgs must begin, according to the conviction of Zevenberghen, with the breaking of the power of the Swiss, with whom the South German towns

might easily take sides, caused by the enmity of the princes. He went even so far as to present the alternative that Germany would either have to come under the imperial rule of Hapsburg or become a republic like Switzerland, "in order that the entire Germany be at last a commune and that all rulers be driven out."

In the *Eidgenossen* (Swiss people), and in the princes, this diplomat whose glance reached further than the immediate demands of the day and petty personal motives, found the real adversaries of a monarchic change in the empire. Even if the religious movement just then taking place was not considered, it would have been an immense task for the most powerful and able emperor to solve such a question and quell the threatening revolution, with the already existing and powerfully developed princely "liberty."

At first, Charles had to pacify the German princes and, so far as the Swiss were concerned, Chievres had long since formulated his idea that it was the secret of all secrets to win them over at any price. The war with England was imminent, the pope was to be pacified, the revolution in Spain and the unruly princes in the old Austrian lands combated, and finally, a decision must be given concerning the Wittenberg monk. How important, then not to estrange entirely the most powerful of the princes of the empire at the *Reichstag* (im-

perial diet), which was called to meet at Worms on January 6, 1521!

After the crowning Charles and the princes were together at Worms; by far the first position among the latter was occupied by Frederick of Saxony, whose advice the emperor asked in the most important matters, and whom the English ambassador considered the chief opponent of an imperial journey across the Alps. His nephew, John Frederick, already the most zealous adherent of Luther, was to become the bridegroom of Charles' younger sister, the Infanta Catherine. The prince himself had been faithful during the election, without receiving any compensation, though afterwards he was paid 30,000 florins; this was, however, only one-half of the amount which Maximilian actually owed him. On the return home from Cologne the young landgrave Philipp, his former opponent, swore eternal friendship. The regeneration of Saxony meant a revival of those tendencies which had not been able to assert themselves during the last years of Maximilian's reign.

It must be emphasized here how, contrary to these tendencies, the government of Charles V created a power which had been pictured to the House of Hapsburg by Zevenberghen in vivid colors. Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, driven out of his country, tried in August, 1519, to occupy his land again with a small force but after a short campaign

the *Schwaebische Bund* (Suabian alliance) was a second time victorious and Ulrich was compelled to seek shelter in Switzerland. Without considering the absolute rights of his son Christoph, the Bund sold the duchy to the emperor on the 6th of February, 1520, for the amount of the war-costs (210,000 florins) in cash. As archduke of Austria, the emperor was himself a member of the federation and, through the influence of Zevenberghen, he was bound at any cost to carry through this most important strengthening of his West Austrian lands, even if it were an infraction on the existing laws. Christoph was separated from his mother and brought to Innsbruck, a half-brother of Ulrich received a yearly pension, and Zevenberghen was made "Governor of the Principality of Württemberg," which at first tried to pacify the *Landstaende* and the people. The *Württembergischer Staende*, favored by the poor financial condition of the new ruler, obtained a considerable extension of their liberties, after the *Tuebinger Vertrag* (pact) of 1514 had been confirmed from the beginning. While the *Staende* enjoyed an almost independent management of the affairs of state, the adherents of Ulrich were hunted like wild beasts; everybody who favored the proscribed duke verbally or by acts was to be killed at once or his name reported. Ulrich, who had delayed to use the promise of safe-conduct to the Netherlands at the right time, was

denied a hearing after he later on offered the promise at the imperial diet at Worms. However, Charles had long before this announced his firm intention to keep the principality forever. Did not a Württemberger embassy in the Netherlands say that no land in the whole of Europe fitted in so well for Austria?

CHAPTER VIII

A GREAT MONARCH

THUS the rule of Charles V in Germany began with an act of force, and with a violation of the law in favor of his own dynastic interests. The princes, to whom he had sworn before the coronation that he would observe their election capitularies, which were very cautiously prepared, could have asked each other in the face of such a "changing of a free *lehen* (lien) of the empire into merchandise," whether with such policies their rightful laws, instituted by themselves, would be anything more than "a scrap of paper." Just as their lukewarm application did not help Duke Ulrich, so was the final judgment pronounced by Mainz, Saxony and Brandenburg over the quarreling Welf princes, utterly ignored by the emperor. For it was intended that the German princes favorable to France should be entirely eliminated. The imperial ban was pronounced for the third time over Ulrich on July 5, and also over the bishop of Hildesheim and Duke Henry of Lüneburg, on July 24, 1521. It is undeniable that Charles' position

regarding France had a decisive influence over the way in which he treated the German affairs. His decision to keep Württemberg was certainly hastened by the fact that the imperial emissaries reported that the little country could muster about 12,000 warriors; later reports gave the number as 20,000. The young ruler well knew that a war with France was unavoidable, and he had that strong monarchic conviction which he expressed quite openly at Worms, "that there should not be many masters, but only one, as had been customary in the holy empire."

How this idea conformed with the greatly deviating views and desires of the Staende will be touched upon later, in connection with the history of the imperial reign, which might serve as a compromise between the two factions. There is no doubt that political questions rose already before the Reichstag, relating to the most important matter with which it should occupy itself. The fate of Luther seemed to depend on every new turn in the incalculable papal statecraft, and in the changes in the parties for or against Charles V. For the emperor was never secure from the secret intrigues of France, which were now in vogue more than ever before, and even sought to make connections with the princes.

Naturally Ulrich set his hopes wholly upon France, to which he offered his services against

every enemy. They were accepted in March, 1521; even before him, Duke Henry of Lüneburg had appeared at the court of France. While Robert von der Mark, paid by Francis I, mobilized an army in the Netherlands, and a son of the Lüneburg duke was to marry a sister of the king of Navarre and help the latter to reconquer his country from Spain. Joachim of Brandenburg, upon his entry into Worms, immediately met the French ambassador, who strove to restore the old friendship, and not without success, as he thought. But what can be said about the fact that Frederick of Saxony also had dealings with King Francis at this time? His emissary was to deliver an oral message and a letter to the prince. The confidential notes of the wise Frederick to his brother John reveal to us, notwithstanding all the cautious expressions, how far he was from considering his position in the empire and with the emperor a safe one. He looked with the greatest distrust upon his cousin Georg Albrecht of Mainz, who was in high favor at Worms and who even refused an audience to the French ambassador. To this was added the imperial dislike of the duke of Lüneburg, who was Frederick's brother-in-law. But the hardest trial still awaited the timid man. Luther should solemnly declare before the emperor and the empire, for the last time, whether or not he would revoke.

Rarely have two such unequal adversaries faced

each other personally as they did at Worms when the young emperor met the "Ketzerische" (unbelieving) monk. Both were genuine sons of their time, both considered the religious interests as the highest and most important in human life; nevertheless there seemed to be centuries separating these two men and making it impossible for them to understand each other, with all their visible relationship to the best in Christendom. It was true that the Spaniards of the sixteenth century were said to be the saviors of the authority principle threatened by the Renaissance culture, as their very own world-historic work. But Charles V, undoubtedly the most powerful champion of this principle on the political and the religious side, was at the same time imbued with the idea of the moral decrepitude of the Renaissance. He led the great fight for the ideals of the past, which were also his own, with all the evil means of the modern political methods, such as were used everywhere, especially in Rome. Alexander remarked, when he saw the inimical princes of Mainz and Saxony publicly fraternize with each other at the Reichstag, that there was no reason to speak of Roman dissimulation.

Neither can it be denied that with the majority of German politicians of that time, the abhorrence of Welsh trickery found its origin rather in the consciousness of inability, inferiority and immoral motives, and that the Machiavellian usages in politics

in the course of the fight demanded their tribute from the reformers themselves.

But through it all the refreshing and elevating impression which the appearance of a Luther caused in this world of deceit should not be minimized. It was only the Germans who could understand this appearance as something natural, while the foreigners either took exception to the appearance of the famous man or associated him with the brutal force of the barbarian,—the “*furor teutonicus*” of the German warrior.

The young emperor did not allow himself to be reproached because he had adopted this purely worldly judging of religious questions. One could already observe in him that melancholy trait which was inherited from generation to generation, and which could also be noticed in the Spanish-Hapsburg emperor. Charles V thought of his funeral when still young; he made his will before his return to Spain (1522), not without citing a choice of burial places at the side of his forefathers, and ordering the reading of 30,000 masses in different cloisters of strict observance. He was not a learned theologian like Henry VIII and did not even master the Latin language, but the strict Christian education he received as a boy was impressed upon his mind and soul. He always considered that there was a great difference between the Roman curia, which afterwards deceived him and which he several

times fought, and the Roman Church, whose teachings and institutions he adored. The pupil of Adrian had to be convinced of the necessity of a reformation of the Church, just as its most faithful adherents had been convinced long before. But a reformation from below, a reformation which not only criticised the laws of the Church but even the dogma itself, should arouse every good Catholic who, as a part of Christendom, saw in each independent movement a sacrilegious interference with his sovereignty.

The ecclesiastical entourage of the emperor, to which the German reform friends took strong exception, by no means evinced that unconditional devotion towards Rome which the two nuncios, Caracciolo and Alexander, believed they could demand. A number of high princes of the Church,—the Cardinals Albert of Mainz, Matthæus of Salzburg and Schinner of Sitten, the bishop Eberhard von der Marck of Lüttich, and the bishop of Valencia, who was considered Chievres' right hand,—did not think of seriously interesting themselves in Luther's cause, but their worldly ideas occasionally became uncomfortable, since with all their ostensible loyalty to the ecclesiastic head of the Church, they were amenable to purely political and personal considerations. It was permitted at Salzburg to criticise the pope at the table unless the cardinal found it necessary to intervene.

Marked theological zeal was shown by the body-physician of the emperor, an Italian. He considered, in spite of his friendly correspondence with Erasmus, that the great Netherlander was the real author of some very sharp Lutheran articles. More influential than the physician was a man whose confidential position with the emperor gave him a weighty voice in religious matters. He was the new confessor, Jean Glapion. In a way, he owed his position to the politics of Chievres, who thought this native Frenchman would support his peaceful tendencies. But the astute Franciscan, whose undeniable influence at the imperial court was a thorn in the side of the German patriots, seemed nevertheless to have had serious thoughts of reform.

Even if everything said in his interview with the Saxon chancellor Brueck could not be taken literally, the warm praise which he gave to Luther upon his first appearance, agreed with other explanations from reliable, ecclesiastic personages. When he asserted, however, that Charles himself had shown no displeasure with the earlier writings of Luther, it must be characterized as pure invention. More probable was his utterance that he had warned Charles to do his sacred duty and purify the Church from all abuses, and that he pictured Luther as a sort of "Gottesgeisel" (scourge of God) for this sinful world. He represented the view of the "most learned" men when he ex-

pressed the desire that this noble sprig of the longed-for revolution should not be torn out again because of fear. Through these "most learned" could this matter be brought to a successful conclusion, but it had to be done with the utmost discretion and not before the common people. The thought of such a court of judgment to be appointed by the emperor was quite "Erasmic," because Erasmus had told the advisers of the emperor, at Cologne, of his propositions for mediation, saying "that Luther could boast of his obedience, just as the pope could boast of his forgiveness." Truly "Erasmic" also was the good advice of Glapion, that Luther should assume the authorship of his "awkward" book pertaining to the Babylonian captivity.

When Glapion communicated their ideas to the Saxonian chancellor, the Lutheran dealings at the imperial court had undergone many changes. In the Netherlands an imperial mandate had been issued against the Lutheran writings, at the instance of Alexander. An extension of this mandate over the whole empire, adding to it the ban, was declared to be unlawful before the coronation. Thereupon followed a direct refusal by Saxony to receive the two papal ambassadors at Cologne, and the influence of Erasmus upon the powers that be seemed to be on the wane.

It was at this stage of affairs that Sickingen commenced to side with the emperor and communicated

with Erasmus. After that, men like the great chancellor Gattinara devoted themselves, as Alexander unwillingly wrote, to the "phantasy" to allow Luther to appear at the Reichstag. On November 28, 1520, Charles V requested the prince-elect to bring Luther with him. Apart from the consideration for electoral Saxony and the proposals of Erasmus we are able to trace the influence of the papal policy. Manuel's reports from Rome were, after October, again very unfavorable; the pope informed him that France had tried to lure him with the expectation of Naples and other considerations, not forgetting the strange offer of Leo to have an audience with the French delegates, heard by a servant of Manuel hidden under his bed, which knowledge did not tend to calm the Spaniard. Added to this was the news of the papal recruiting of troops in Switzerland and of the intention of King Francis to go to Italy.

Alexander had every reason to adjure Chievres that one should not confound the cause of creed with other affairs pending between the pope and emperor. But shortly afterwards, the Erasmian mood at the court had changed again, and the real inclination of the emperor had shown itself when he learned of Luther's bold judgment concerning the bull and the decretals. Charles V spoke with open contempt of the "scoundrel," whose letter he tore up and flung on the floor immediately after it

had been handed to him. Before the refusal of Prince-Elect Frederick arrived, the emperor (December 17) had withdrawn that invitation and given the instruction simply to bring Luther to Frankfort or elsewhere in the vicinity of Worms, on condition that he revoked his decision and in any other case to keep him in Wittenberg until the emperor and the princes-elect had decided. Even on December 29, a sharp mandate against Luther, according to the wish of Alexander, had been decided upon. He attributed the chief merit of this favorable turn to his representations in the German council and with Glapion. At all event, it was not brought about, as has always been assumed, by a concession of the papal see, made a short time before. The revocation of the papal breves which restricted the Inquisition in Aragon was granted only on December 12, and would hardly have outweighed the grave communications of Manuel concerning Leo's war and alliance wishes. Just as little sufficed the official reason of the emperor that Luther was really excommunicated after the expiration of the date fixed in the bull, and therefore his appearance in Worms was not warranted. One could believe with Baumgarten that an attempt was made by the imperial cabinet to win the papal see through particular zeal in the Lutheran cause, at which, however, the strictly ecclesiastical church tendency of the young emperor had to be taken into account. It is easier

to understand why the mandate was not executed, and why the imperial policy soon assumed its former attitude again. With the approaching diet the necessity grew for winning the support of the principals, whose financial help was necessary. It became more apparent that a rash and brusque procedure against Luther would never accomplish this end. The whole atmosphere in which matters were moving made the "procrastination," which was so much detested by Alexander, seem the most advisable.

Prince-elect Frederick in those days justified that reputation for prudence which, however, many times was mingled with vacillation. In the present instance the accusation against him, made in a pamphlet friendly to Luther,—that he had denied the Reformer as Peter had denied the Savior,—was justified. The constantly repeated declaration that he had personally nothing to do with Luther, the transparent subterfuges with which he sought to maintain this legal contention, the princely pride which held up the continued execution against the Lutheran books as a strong condemnation to the emperor,—all this had certainly not missed the mark, and Alexander was justified in being sorely vexed with the taciturn gentleman whom for a time he only wanted to regard as a puppet in the hands of his heretical counselors.

Already in Cologne, his colleague Carraciolo had

angrily declared that they would soon find out this Duke Frederick. Alexander even found fault with the outward appearance of the "Saxonian basilisk" who, he said, resembled a fat marmot and had the same squinting look. The typical courtier naturally saw Saxonian practices and Saxonian bribery wherever resistance showed itself among the principals or the imperial counselors against the immediate execution of the papal verdict. But even the strictly Catholic Georg of Saxony concurred in the universal complaints and reproaches against the see equally with Luther's most violent literary opponents. Murner, Emser, etc., made the clergy primarily responsible for the impending catastrophe. With them, as in the complaining articles of Duke Georg, the old remedy of a general council, so repulsive to the Catholics, was again brought to light; with trenchant acrimony the ducal articles denounced the greed and immorality of the clergy, which were fundamentally traceable to the corruption of the superiors, since "while the well becomes flavored, so do the brooks into which it flows."

What a searchlight upon the dark side of clerical life did the Saxonian article give, which exposed the frequently used trick by ecclesiastical judges of summoning respectable women before them "sometimes for their beauty sake," upon a false denunciation, and then trying to ruin them through money demands or by threats! In accusations of this

nature, wrote the Worms canon about the Georg complaints, everybody in Germany held the same sentiment, beginning with the emperor, through all the principals down to the last man.

Thus in the diet, the hundred gravamen of the German nation were compiled, whose church-political demands entirely coincided in many instances with the assertions of Luther and Hutten. However, the majority of the principals were certainly unwilling to refuse obedience to the gravely assailed régime. "I hope to God," said Murner, voicing a widespread opinion, "we Germans will one day have no more of complaints and we shall in spite of that remain pious Christians and abide by the law of our forefathers."

But what a pressure in favor of Luther and his cause must have been exerted in the face of this, by the simultaneous agitation of the stanch conservative elements that were powerful in many important questions! Alexander himself who, according to his statement, had warned the pope five years before against a "Germanic tumult," could not help speaking of "our Germans at Rome, although my esteemed masters and friends," as the chief cause of this "rebellion," and at least a passing moderation of their avariciousness was urgently necessary. The educated Germany, however, which let itself be guided completely by the Humanistic "theological poets," the pope could only fight in

earnest through inducing some of his talented adherents to devote themselves to the study of the Bible and to attack the opponents with the same weapons.

Nobody had to suffer so directly from the excitement stirred by these "theologo-poets," and nobody had so good an opportunity to draw a life-picture of the sentiments prevailing in and about Worms, as the intellectual Italian observer and coactor. A country in which "even the rocks and trees shouted Luther" was not a very comfortable abode for the papal ambassador. Previously an honored guest of the Humanistic circles, he now imagined himself like one ostracized. Here and there it even happened that he could not obtain accommodations at any price. When he walked the streets, scowling passers-by grasped their swords and muttered imprecations. Taunting verses and caricatures pursued him; he saw himself shown hanging from the gallows with his head downward, while Luther's picture with the Holy Ghost and a lustrous wreath of rays, sometimes with Hutten, was shown and sold everywhere, even in the headquarters of the emperor. Alexander meekly accepted a couple of kicks in the ribs from a "highly Lutheran" door-keeper; and he wrote that with patience and humor one could get over all those little tribulations.

But worse than the insults and threats in Worms were the manifestations from the adjoining Ebern-

burg castle. The figure of a Sickingen and Hutten in the background boded ill. Alexander thought with a shudder of the habits and customs of the German feud law. Already the prevailing excitement had seized the foreign onlookers, while distinguished Spaniards found pleasure in tearing up Lutheran writings in public, and trampling them in the mire. Spanish merchants, who lived in constant fear of death when at home, on account of their Moorish or Jewish descent, openly showed their sympathies for the opponent of the ecclesiastical reign of terror.

Still we must not imagine that the pressure of public opinion, vividly as it made itself felt and heard, was all-powerful in the upper political circles and among the imperial diplomats. One must reckon with palpable things, with financial and military forces. The only man in the movement who could be counted upon in such a matter,—Sickingen,—had just tied himself in financial and military respects to the emperor. It was more difficult at first to reach an understanding with the princes of the empire over the Lutheran affair. The elector of Mainz hesitated in the execution of the sharp mandate of December 29. Among the civil electoral princes, only Brandenburg could be looked upon as an out and out opponent of Luther. Trier and the palatinate were politically in harmony with Prince-elect Frederick; the young, warlike landgrave

of Hesse, Sickingen's deadly enemy, but declared by Alexander as a "wholly Lutheran," joined this group, which could claim some consideration. One can imagine that on the imperial side, everything was done to win the always elusive Saxon or to intimidate him.

Besides the mentioned conversations of Glapion with Chancellor Brueck, we possess a remarkable instruction for a delegation, though we do not know whether it really reached the prince-elect. In it Frederick was expressly cautioned against the threatened excommunication, and for Luther, in the case of revocation, the prospect of a papal pardon was not only good, but there was promise of the conservation of his writings after the elimination of the heretical portions. Should he refuse revocation, however, the prince-elect was to keep him in custody in one of his castles until the emperor with the princes and learned men had decided his future fate. Here an idea, which had been previously conceived in the Wittenberg circles, reappeared with the clear aim, however, of preventing the heretic from further publications and flight.

Glapion's repeated advice that Luther should not leave Saxony and in no event should go to Rome sounded more friendly, but really meant that Luther's appearance in Worms was to be avoided. From the standpoint of the Church, it was impossible to declare admissible another trial of the

heretic, who had been sentenced in all formality, nor could the diet be competent. Alexander brought up the justifiable question whether anyone really believed that Luther, who had antagonized the clerical profession and the entire ecclesiastical science, would acknowledge any court as impartial unless it was composed of his unconditional adherents. But the majority of the princes insisted upon this trial of the banned Reformer, to the great discomfiture of the emperor and the nuncios. Alexander, as a matter of fact, wrote insolently enough after the speech which he gave on February 13, before the emperor and diet, and constrained himself as little as if he were giving a lesson to a few dozen children.

There was, of course, no lack of comparison of the German with the Bohemian movement; the utterance of Luther that one should wash his hands in the blood of the parsons was quoted. In spite of this boldness, the success of the writing did not come up to expectation. The imperial mandate which declared that it was neither necessary nor seemly to hear Luther any further, pronounced the ban upon the heretic and his adherents, and ordered Luther's immediate arrest. Such arrest was declined by the principals as impossible to execute, because of the dangerous mood of the common people. In the preceding debates, however, there had been sharp disputes; in the collegiate of the

princes-elect, Saxony and the Palatinate fought for their opinion against the majority with such fire that Alexander could declare, with malicious exaggeration, that Saxony and Brandenburg had nearly come to blows, and the count of the Palatinate, otherwise a very quiet gentleman, had roared like an ox. Both accomplished so much that one recommended Luther's recall to the emperor, in order to hear directly himself whether he acknowledged the writings which circulated under his name and whether he would recant the articles directed against the old Church dogmas. If he should refuse, then the principals, with the emperor, would help to protect the faith. A mixing up of the gravamen with the cause of Luther and the proposal to allow a disputation with him over questions of the Church constitution, the emperor rejected, but he had to grant the demand for a hearing. After repeated discussions among the imperialists and with the principals, the plan represented by Gattinara and Glapion to have the hearing conducted by a deputation of scientists delegated to Wittenberg, was dropped and it was resolved to invite Luther to come to Worms. His books, according to an imperial mandate which was published later, should not be burned for the present, but sequestered. On March 6, the imperial citation to appear in Worms within twenty-one days, under safe escort there and back, went to Luther. Alexander was indig-

nant that the sentenced heretic should be addressed with such words as "honorable," "dear," "devout."

But Luther's cause had been placed in the hands of the diet, for which the nuncios made the counselors of the emperor responsible, not the German, but the secret council whose Netherland and Italian members evidently discussed the general political position far more. In those days Chievres told the nuncios, "You see to it that your pope does not bring our affairs into confusion, then he shall have everything that he can ask us, but otherwise one shall wrap him up in such a way that he will have great trouble to unwrap himself."

These gentlemen found, even if they did not promise themselves too great an effect in Rome through a delay of the Lutheran affair, that Leo X had practically little cause as pope to press the emperor and, as an Italian prince, to keep him in suspense. The unnaturalness of this double relation lay in the counter demand of Alexander, that one should not mix credit with private interests. This presumption sounded especially hypocritical from the lips of the man whose diplomatic reputation consisted chiefly in making a great ecclesiastical purpose subservient to personal interest and dubious inclinations, to bribery and vanity,—a man who afterwards boasted that he had silenced the clamor of the imperials and the princes at Worms for councils, through a lie about the arrival of certain

papal briefs. That the imperial politicians, in the face of such practices, sometimes permitted themselves to utter a threat, which was perhaps not meant very seriously, was quite natural, and not particularly censurable. Thus they occasionally had the father confessor of the previous emperor, the respected Dominican Johannes Faber, preach to the nuncios, emperor and princes-elect and urge that the Lutheran affair be taken in hand and the prerogatives of the empire in Italy be regained. In this manner they hinted that the news of the advance of Robert von der Mark against imperial territory had at once caused an alteration of the safe-conduct for Luther, to whom a herald was now to be dispatched, instead of to the simple courtier.

Perhaps it was not without consideration for the foreign relations that the imperial government in those critical weeks made a successful attempt to pacify the troublesome opposition in the Ebernburg castle. We learn through Alexander that France's champion, Robert von der Mark had carried on negotiations with Sickingen; besides that, one knew that Lüneburg was entirely French and that the prince-elect of Brandenburg had an ambassador with Francis I. The imminent outbreak of the war certainly facilitated the matter for the two negotiators who went to the Ebernburg castle,—the chamberlain Paul von Armsdorf and the imperial father confessor. Hutten not only had threatened the

papal delegates and the whole clergy hostile to Luther, but had sent a sharp letter to the emperor himself. In it he declared that there were still men in Germany who would call to account the insolent papal delegates, even against the will of the sovereign, who was led altogether by priestly "weaklings." This bold letter of Alexander declared that the word of God is mightier than any imperial edict.

How seriously Hutten's threats were taken was sufficiently evinced by Alexander, whose letter was full of fear; while the Humanist in him could not but marvel at the careful style of the knightly pamphlets, he would not have dared to publish the second ban bull in which, besides Luther, Hutten was specially named.

Armsdorf, who thought himself prejudiced by the see in some letters concerning a prebend, and who was satisfied by the pope through the intervention of the nuncios, declared quite openly that he would otherwise have visited fire and sword by the side of Hutten upon the courtesan who had been preferred to him. Now he and Glapion had a task with Ebernburg castle, which proved to be easier than they had expected. Besides Sickingen and Hutten they met the ex-Dominican Martin Butzer, whom Alexander described as particularly gifted and dangerous. He was a better match for the father confessor in matters of dogma than the two knights.

Hutten was not made to be a theologian nor a diplomat; he believed in the good intention of the imperial delegates: "this I should never have thought," he wrote to the palatinate, "except they are deceiving me." Spalatin, however, less optimistic, feared that the father confessor was a "socius."

It has been made a serious reproach to Hutten that he allowed himself to be induced to enter the imperial service for an annual salary of 400 gold florins, and accordingly ceased his literary attacks, for he apologized, in a new writing to the emperor, for the previous one. Little as he retracted, in this missive, his former opinion concerning the nefarious doings of the nuncios and wicked advisers of Charles, it was unjust to accuse the knight of a mercenary disposition. He evidently acted in good faith, very likely supported by his powerful friend; still later, after the ban of Luther, a pamphlet emanating from Sickingen's circle expressed the hope that the emperor "would not be any more papal for long." However, Hutten, as soon as he was informed of the emperor's decision against Luther, gave the former notice of a termination of his service. But in those days he allowed himself to be persuaded with Sickingen in favor of Glapion's project, according to which Luther, who was already on his way, should not come to Worms first, but to Ebernburg castle, and negotiate there with the imperial father confessor,—a plan which

was perhaps meant to prevent the heretic's appearance before the diet. But it failed through the fortitude of the Reformer.

Luther had already declared to Spalatin his readiness to obey the initial invitation; even if ill, he would come, for the call of the emperor was to him a call of the Lord. He did not deceive himself concerning the risk; he hoped Charles would not load upon himself the curse which once haunted Siegfried, who had broken his word, and had descended upon his grandchild. To the prince-elect he repeated his previous offer, but with the purpose of obtaining a vindication, a real hearing. As for revoking, he wrote to a friend that he would, at the utmost, revoke only his declaration that the pope was governor for Christ; now he would call him the adversary of Christ and the apostle of the devil.

CHAPTER IX

LUTHER BEFORE THE IMPERIAL DIET AT WORMS

ON March 26, 1521, the herald arrived with his escort and the imperial letter, and Luther started for his destination. Besides a brother of the order, as the rule demanded, his colleague and intimate friend Armsdorf accompanied him, and also a young noble from Pomerania, Peter Swaven. The Humanist, Justus Jonas, who had recently gone over altogether to theology, joined at Erfurt to the great regret of his patron Erasmus, but praised and lauded by Hutten and Eoban Hesse. The University of Erfurt, its rector Crotus at the head, solemnly received the Reformer,—“the man,” so said a notice in the matricula, “who had first after long centuries, dared to choke Roman arrogance with the sword of the Holy Scripture.” Luther powerfully impressed the Erfurters, “there are quite three thousand parsons,” he cried, “amongst whom one would not find four righteous ones; God have mercy upon this misery!”

Hardly had he departed when the excitement of the students and the masses, intensified by his visit, burst forth against the clergy in a wild baiting of parsons. Meanwhile, Luther went joyously forward, only frightened at times by the proclamation of that imperial mandate which ordered the delivery of his writings into the hands of the authorities. Neither the invitation to the Ebernburg castle, brought over by Butzer, nor a very serious warning by Spalatin, could divert him from pressing forward on his journey. The notice may well have been sent by the prince-elect himself, for Spalatin alone would hardly have dared in such a momentous question to intervene at the last. Luther replied "he would go to Worms, and if as many devils were in it as there were bricks."

On April 15, about noon, the entry into Worms took place amidst a tremendous crowd of people. Alexander, who heard the din from his house, was told that Luther, when stepping down from his wagon, had looked around with his "demoniacal" eyes and said "God will be with me." Not in the seclusion of an apartment of the imperial residence, as the nuncio and Glapion had arranged with Charles, but in the vicinity of his prince-elect, in a house of the knight hospitalers, he took his quarters, where he was visited at once by distinguished men and besieged by a clamoring multitude.

On the following afternoon at four o'clock, he

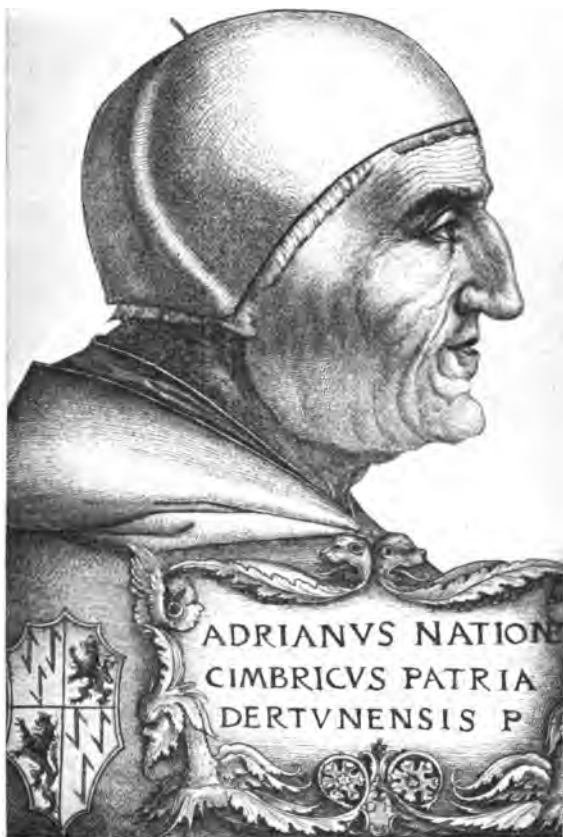
appeared before the emperor and the empire. Alexander had outlined the course of proceedings, which were conducted by the Trier official, Johann von Eck. Luther, according to Alexander's observation, was in a joyful mood. The first question addressed to him, whether he acknowledged the discussed books (whose titles were read to him at his request by the Wittenberg jurist Scharf) to be his own, he promptly answered in the affirmative. At the second decisive question, whether or not he would revoke these writings and their contents, he was overwhelmed by the enormity of the responsibility and asked for time to consider his reply, since it depended upon such sacred things as the salvation of souls and the divine word. After deliberation and consultation among the emperor and the principals his request was reluctantly granted. With a highflown, admonitory address of the official, the scene was closed amidst much disappointment. Luther had spoken in a low, almost inaudible voice, and seemed intimidated in spite of the encouragement that had been whispered into his ears from more than one side when he was going forward.

As soon as the emperor beheld the monk, he said: "He would never make a heretic out of me." He persisted in his belief that it was impossible that Luther could have been the author of the books attributed to him. No wonder that a true Italian

like Alexander triumphed over the "fool" who had destroyed the illusions about his own personality.

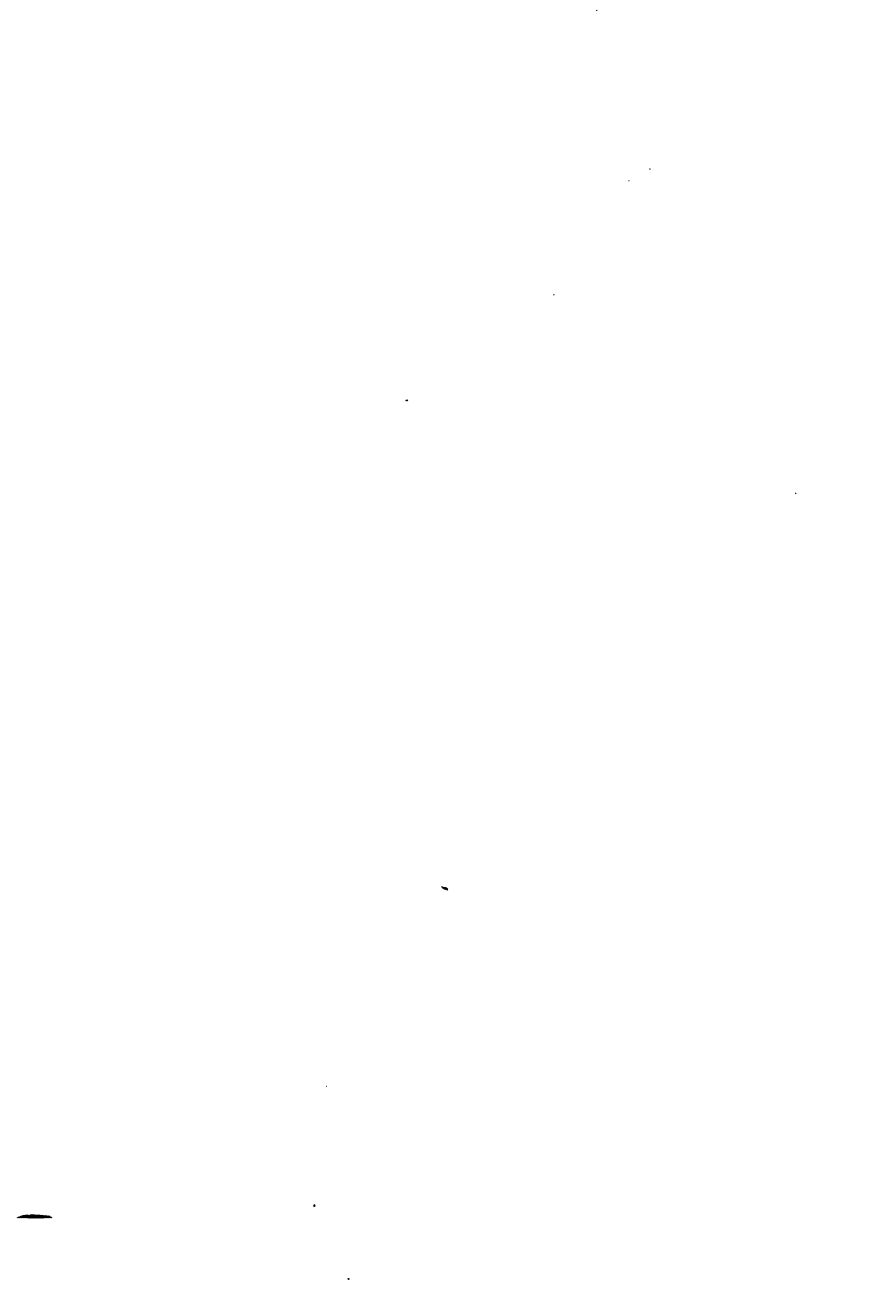
In the evening of the following day,—it was six o'clock before the preparations for the new hearing were completed,—the unwonted touch of fear on the part of the Reformer had vanished. Luther was himself again. He had written to Cuspinian on the preceding night that he would not revoke one iota. Peutingger, with whom he conversed shortly before the second hearing, found him cheerful and of undaunted spirit.

He had to wait a long time until the emperor and the principals had finished with other petitions and the Trier official, after a repeated reprimand for the delay caused by Luther, addressed the momentous question for the second time,—did he wish to uphold all his writings or revoke anything? With a loud and ringing voice Luther gave his answer, asking to be excused for possible offenses against court ceremonies, on account of his monastic inexperience. He persisted in acknowledging his books, with the exception of opposing falsifications, and divided them into three groups, one of which, dealing with creed and morals, was entirely approved by the opponents themselves. The second, directed against the papacy and the papists, he could not revoke without strengthening the tyranny and opening doors and windows for profligacy to enter. Finally, in the polemic writings against a few de-



Pope Adrian VI.
Engraving by Daniel Hopper.





fendants of those excesses, he might have been too violent; still he did not wish to make out that he was a saint by revoking them, which would also mean to encourage the tyranny. If he should be convicted of an error on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, he would be the first to throw the books into the fire.

The speaker grew more and more powerful, in the consciousness of his divine mission, which lifted him above all fear of the illustrious gathering. He declared that the danger of the doctrine with which he was reproached was the surest indication of its origin, for the divine word had not come to bring peace, but the sword. He dared to admonish even the young emperor himself to the fear of the Lord, so that he might not begin his reign with misfortune and come to grief like Pharaoh and the kings of Babylon and Israel; not that such high personages needed his teaching, but he could not deny his Germany this service. In the most solemn moment of his life, the duty to his Fatherland, as well as his duty to God was impressed upon the soul of the Reformer. Like a prophet of the Old Testament, he spoke to the ruler of his people.

Nothing was further from the emperor and the majority of the principals than to concede such a position to the banned monk. The Trier officials voiced their dissatisfaction with Luther, who had

abused the leniency of the emperor and in a typically heretical manner avoided an unequivocal answer. Now there could be no more question of a disputation, after the false doctrines renewed by Luther had been judged long before in the case of the Waldenses, and those of Wickliffe and Huss by the councils. What they now depended upon was only a "nicht gehörnte," that is, a straightforward answer to the question whether or not he would revoke his books and the errors contained in them.

Luther delivered the requested answer "without horns or teeth" thus: Pope as well as council was liable to error, consequently if he was not convicted by evidence from the Scriptures or by sensible reasons, then he was bound in the writings quoted by him, and his conscience was in the hands of God. Revoke he could not and would not, because it was dangerous to act against one's own conscience. "So help me God, Amen."

When, after these fateful words, Eck prepared to intervene for the infallibility of the councils, and Luther "like a hard rock" persisted that they had erred and he could prove it, the young emperor, highly indignant, broke off the discussion. Amidst the hissing and jeerings of the Spaniards, Luther left the hall. Alexander said that, like the German soldiers after a well-aimed blow, he stretched out his hand and exclaimed, "I am through, I am through." Thus he greeted his friends when he

entered his quarters. The feeling of freedom, of having successfully weathered the storm, filled the brave man whose simple grandeur passed through those memorable hours without falling into the weakness of pathos.

For the German eye witnesses there was no need of any theatrical acting, the lack of which the Romans only reluctantly forgave even in an eminent personage. The prince-elect, who had seemed somewhat perplexed on the previous day, expressed his dissatisfaction with Doctor Martinus to Spalatin, adding significantly: "He is much too bold for me." The respect which one owes a valiant fighter, was shown by Eric of Brunswick when, after the heat of the quarrel, he sent Luther a can of Eimbecker beer. The young landgrave of Hesse visited him in his quarters, like other princes and lords, but his own sovereign avoided all personal contact. If Alexander believed that Luther's attitude had detracted much from his prestige hitherto, he was utterly mistaken. "I am more Lutheran now than ever before in my life," wrote a witness of the hearing. That, as Alexander asserted, the people felt offended at the rejection of the Costnitz council, or at the liking of the Reformer for a good drink, was absolutely improbable.

It characterized the increasing excitement that a proclamation was displayed at the Worms town hall, according to which four hundred of the nobility

had conspired against Mainz and all Romanists. At the end of the poster was the word "Bundschuh," repeated three times,—the old watchword of the revolutionary peasant leagues. The young emperor, however, sneeringly meant that the case of the four hundred nobles was similar to the three hundred conspirators whom the legendary Caius Mutius Scævola had joined in threats. Mainz was less hopeful, as rumors about the sentiments in the Ebernburg castle never had failed to make a certain impression, at least so far as they referred to Sickingen. Hutten's inactivity had already begun to challenge the scorn of his opponents. The term of the invective, who could bark but not bite, was invented for him by the Humanist Hermann von Busche, who made the knight recognize the dissatisfaction even of his best friends. It was indeed a painful spectacle to see Hutten, after all his passionate effusions, condemned to play the part of a spectator while, as he wrote to Luther, the rage of the adversaries challenged him to a fight with swords and bows, arrows and rifles. But in the same letter he admitted that the prudence of his friends compelled him to desist from all forcible intentions for the present. Before the visit of the imperial delegates at the Ebernburg castle, Butzer had remarked that Sickingen would draw his sword for the cause of evangelism if he was not tormented by gout, an excuse which later was repeated with-

out hitting the real reason of Sickingen's reserve, which is known to us.

Nobody suffered more than Hutten under these conditions, who must have realized the limits of his influence, at the same time that he was made harmless by his protector. After he had renounced for himself the imperial pension, he was not able to carry the powerful friend away with him. "One must," he complained to Butzer, "keep him on our side, and work upon him ceaselessly, so that one day he may not lend his ear to the advices of the opponents." In the meantime, an alleged utterance of Sickingen had come to Worms, the emperor and principals, that he would deliberate, and make his conclusion. However, even at the imperial court, there seemed to be safety from this danger.

It has been recently pointed out that Charles V showed a certain independence of action in the Lutheran cause and did not unconditionally surrender to his advisers. With veritable enthusiasm Alexander tells of the firmness of the young ruler, who alone, without faltering, had maintained his true ecclesiastical standpoint. Once the narrator soared to prophecy when he uttered the conviction that Charles would, through his kindness, prudence and bravery, know how to attach good fortune to himself and to emerge as victor from all struggles. But he did not fail to add to his panegyric of the greatest and best among all men the warning that

Charles was at the same time a most dangerous adversary and did not easily forget an insult. The latter quality was described by the father confessor Glapion as the only unpleasant trait in the nature of the emperor. At all events, the German princes were doubtless surprised by the severity with which the young ruler manifested to them, on April 19, his final opinion of the heretical monk. As a descendant and heir of the German emperors, the Spanish king, the Austrian archdukes, and the Burgundian dukes, he was determined to eradicate the shame of this heresy by summoning all his forces and staking his own self, his lifeblood and soul. He only regretted the necessity of postponing action against Luther, to whom he was pledged to give safe-escort, but otherwise to proceed against him as a convicted heretic.

Charles submitted this written declaration. But although at the reading of it, as Alexander reported, many of the princely listeners went "deadly pale," the emperor with all his energy did not accomplish so much that any further negotiation with Luther would have been declined. Besides the influence of electoral Saxony with its threatening demonstrations, did not seem to have been without effect. Not only the anxious prince-elect of Mainz, but even Joachim of Brandenburg voted with the rest of the princes-elect to undertake a final attempt at conversion.

The emperor had repeatedly asserted that he would not alter an iota of his decision, but he was obliged to yield to the will of the diet. At the head of the commission formed by the representatives of all principalities were the princes-elect of Trier and Brandenburg. The former, closely allied with electoral Saxony, had been proposed in 1519 by Luther himself as umpire. Besides those, participated the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, Georg von Sachsen of Saxony, the Deutschmeister, Baron Georg von Wertheim, the Strasburg knight Hans Bock, the Augsburger Peutinger, and the Baden chancellor, Dr. Hieronymus Vehus, who discharged his task as spokesman in the most skillful manner.

Luther had to admit that he had never been treated so kindly and modestly. It was hardly possible to advance any further when, on April 24, the commission tried to do so through their speaker Vehus, the next day through Vehus and Peutinger and finally through the archbishop of Speyer. However, after the decision before the emperor and empire had been made, Luther's calmness was such that he did not lose his composure through any peace mediation, no matter how friendly and sincere. With keen calculation Vehus used in his arguments the testimonial of the holy Bernhard, who was highly venerated by Luther; emphasizing, in the name of the diet, that Luther should consider all

the good in his own writings and not, out of mere stubbornness, destroy the flourishing plant sown by him before it had borne fruit.

It was highly characteristic that Vehus, in his writings and sermons, dared to call special attention to the three-fold justice and the good works of Luther, despite their keen opposition to the ecclesiastical doctrine of satisfaction and the inflexibility of clerical authorities. That it was proposed to leave the decision of his cause either to the emperor and principals or to a future council, showed clearly how much the principalities were prepared to neglect every consideration for the pope, if Luther on his side would make a peaceful understanding possible through a concession. However, no one could induce him to waive his terms made to the emperor and the empire, or to retract his condemnation of the Costnitz council, which was said to have anathematized the divine Word. In vain the Trier official fought again for the authority of the councils; Johannes Cochlaeus, the Humanistic dean of the cathedral intrusively interfered in the discussion, at first with tearful request, and afterwards with the naïve proposition that Luther should abandon his safe escort and enter into a disputation with him. "In short," so Alexander expressed himself, "nothing could be done either with arguments, or admonition, or with cunning, for he remained always obdurate, and only repeated he

would not act against his conscience." With this the nuncio (who did not report as an eyewitness) hit the nail on the head. Thus failed the last attempt of the archbishop of Trier who, in a confidential chat, at first promised the imperturbable man "a fine priorate" and a secure position at his court, in case of his revocation. Subsequently he offered, one by one, a decision by emperor and pope, by the emperor alone, by the emperor and the empire, and a future council. Luther declared all these terms unacceptable, to the great discomfiture of the nuncio.

Immediately after Trier had informed the emperor of the result of the discussion, the imperial command was given to Luther to return home within twenty-one days, without preaching or writing on his way. Luther replied deferentially that he would forego everything for the emperor and the empire, even life and honor, except only his confession to the divine Word. On April 26, he left Worms.

The two adversaries who had there opposed one another afterwards regretted their attitude. Luther saw in the immediately succeeding appearance of an evangelistic radicalism, the divine retribution because in Worms he had subdued his spirit and not made his avowal "before the tyrants" with more force and severity. In opposition to this Charles V, shortly before his death, thought he ought to have delivered the arch heretic to the flames without

any regard to the safe escort promised him. But had this been really in his power to do? The great caution with which the emperor proceeded against Luther in the matter of the edicts by no means vouched for it. Even the see, before the summoning of the heretic, had remarked to the nuncios that, in case Luther should come under the free escort of the emperor, one must let him return accordingly. The princes-elect of Mainz and Brandenburg had declared to the same effect. Now, however, the principals did not oppose any further the imperial wish to proceed against Luther. The drawing up of a mandate by Alexander progressed rapidly enough. Frederick of Saxony confined himself to the request that the emperor and princes would permit him to withdraw from the affair, but, although the mandate was finally granted by the emperor on May 8, its signing and publication were delayed from one week to another. The deciding reason for this was not, as Alexander on one occasion asserted, to be sought in the foreign policy, but in the still pending negotiations about the Rome journey and the war assistance of the empire.

As soon as the principals had, on May 24, sanctioned 20,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 riders against everybody, especially France and the Swiss, the long-prepared-for blow was delivered. On the following day, after the solemn closing session of the diet, Charles surprised the princes who had accom-

panied him on his return to his residence with the reading of the mandate, to which Joachim of Brandenburg gave his consent in the name of all the other principalities. The next morning, Alexander had at last the satisfaction of seeing the emperor sign the Latin and German version, in the church after mass.

The Worms edict which presented the letter of Charles V to the German nation bore the date of May 8, and in one of its passages referred to Luther's free escort as being still in force. There could not be any deceit in this, but rather a precipitation. On the other hand, the remark that the mandate was issued with the unanimous advice and will of the then assembled principals at Worms must be described as an untruth, for it was not even laid before the diet, but was communicated in quite an informal manner to several princes who happened to be there, and was sanctioned by them. At all events, the unmitigated harshness of this condemnation took no consideration whatever of the prevailing sentiment of the nation. Luther was not characterized as a man, but as the wicked enemy in the shape of man, with assumed monk's cowl, who had accumulated many old hidden heresies in a stinking pool and added some of his own invention. Besides the revolt against the Church, the danger of his teaching for the state was emphasized; the "pagan" denial of free will and the contempt for all authority

necessarily led to a free, devilish and "absolutely bestial" life; all his writings favored the revolution, and only fear of the worldly sword had restrained him from treating the mundane law still worse than the ecclesiastical one. Therefore, he was declared an outlaw with all his adherents; he should be arrested and delivered into the hands of the emperor, restrained from the possessions of his adherents, and his writings should be burned. But, in order that the highly celebrated art of printing should not be employed any more for such "venomous" books, but solely for good and praiseworthy things, printed matter of every description could only be published henceforth with the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities.

With one blow the hero of the nation was to be annihilated, and public opinion strangled. The pyre and the censor were the only means with which, according to true Roman conception, even the most stubborn heresy could be destroyed. The ecclesiastical supervision of the press had already, during the Lateran council of 1515, been newly regulated by Leo X after the model of various predecessors. We can imagine that Rome was delighted with this learnedness of the young emperor; "Your excellence," so the pope wrote to him, "has even far excelled our expectations." Enthusiastic thanksgiving breves were issued to the princes-elect also and Frederick the Wise, in whose territory

the whole affair had started, was exhorted with particular emphasis to further zeal, "but," Leo added urbanely, "against your will, as we have seen." That from still another side the princes-elect were urged to annihilate this heresy, we have as proof letters from the king of Portugal to Trier, and the king of England to Mainz. Henry VIII, who had Luther's books burned, and who acted as literary champion of a threatened Church, advised to "trust to the custody of the pyre the rebel against Christ," together with all his books, in case he should not come to his reason. That from Spain, despite the prevailing war confusion, the emperor was implored to make an end of the "seducer," cannot surprise us. Velasco, the victor of Villalar, explained to himself the lucky quelling of the Spanish revolution directly from the God-pleasing procedure of Charles against this "heretic monk."

How futile were the hopes of Erasmus for a peaceful reform of the Church by the Humanistic papacy and the worldly powers! The young emperor, the enlightened pope, and the intellectual Henry of England, whom he considered and glorified as guardians of his philosophy of Christ, were now hand and glove in the resolution to annihilate a spiritual movement with merciless force, according to the advice and with the jubilant triumph of his old deadly enemies, the monkish ignoramuses.

Their cry was not meant simply for evangelism, but for Humanism as the generating medium of intellectual insubordination. A preacher at the French court was said to have described Luther, Lefevres and Erasmus as the harbingers of the antichrist.

Erasmus left no stone unturned to clear himself of the suspicion of Lutheran sentiments, but at the same time without sanctioning the papal bull or the imperial edict. He felt his powerless position deeply. "There will be nothing left for me to do but to write an epitaph for the never more resurrecting Christ," he bitterly remarked. None the less, he found it advisable to put himself on good terms with his opponent Alexander, who threatened to become dangerous to him in Rome. He asked him for permission to read Luther's writings, and received a curt refusal.

Prince-elect Frederick once wrote from Worms to his brother that not only Ananias and Caiaphas, but Pilate and Herod, were against Martinus. This comparison of Luther with Christ was not an unusual one in those days. Such a "passion" was assigned to the wise prince-elect who, acting the part of Peter, denied his Master three times, only with the difference that Frederick did not go outside and weep, but protected Luther against all men. This he really had done with the circumspection and caution which were peculiar to him and which

never left him, even in his most intimate daily intercourse.

Luther was informed on the evening before his departure that some one would "capture and conceal" him on his return journey. Little as this suited his wishes, he yielded to the arrangements of his sovereign. After he had been received with all honors by the Benedictine monastery in Hersfeld, and in spite of the imperial prohibition was prompted to preach, five men on horseback attacked his wagon on the evening of May 4, not far from Altenstein, and carried him away with wild curses, just as was customary with such "hold ups."

All the world indulged in surmises; some guessed at a coup of the papists, others suspected Sickingen, and knowing ones named the real originator, who pretended to be highly surprised. When news reached Worms that Luther had been murdered, Alexander had to hear the threat that even in the lap of the emperor he would no more be safe. We have the pathetic lament which those rumors caused in an enthusiastic admirer of Luther, Albert Dürer, the illustrious artist. He compared the fate of this "divinely intellectual man, whom the pope with his gold kills treacherously," with the death of the Savior caused by the priests. "We can feel in the touching words of the master that Luther, as he once wrote to Spalatin, had 'helped him out of great anxiety' and therefore wrought all the more

profoundly in him the embitterment against the papal chair, this portal of hell, against the blind, invented doctrine of the so-called fathers, and against the avariciousness of the popes and their 'false halo.'" He now set his last hope upon Erasmus: "Listen, knight of Christ, ride beside the Lord Christ, protect the truth, obtain the crown of the martyr, you are usually a dear, old, little man." Dürer's notations were not meant for the public, but were what he thought for himself. What he wrote down was the prevailing view of the nation; it was repeated by others and carried out into the world.

There is something wonderful about the formation and power of public opinion. We may be able to recognize how it manifests itself in individual comments, and how it seems to become fixed, but it is impossible always to show a certain origin for such germinal sentiments, or clearly to trace their growth and effect; but we must not forget that a principle rarely or never becomes the ruling one without overcoming disputation. In the first years of the Reformation, the force of the anti-Roman ground current was almost crushing; the annual number of German printings increased, between 1518 and 1523, three, five and seven-fold. For the last year Ranke, although on the basis of incomplete lists, wished to allot more than four-fifths of the total production to the advocates of the ecclesi-

astical innovation, among whom Luther himself; so far as prolificness was concerned, easily maintained the first place. The presumption of the emperor to silence the voice of public opinion proved to be as a blow into the water. The great publisher Grueninger, in Strasburg, excused himself to the public, not for the printing of Lutheran, but anti-Lutheran writings, with consideration for business. Cochlaeus asserted that the publishers had issued Catholic books in those days only for a lot of money and did so very neglectfully, while all Lutheran books were carefully printed at their own expense. The supervision of the bookselling trade was in many cases done by the authorities, in anything but an exacting way, and made illusory by the booksellers through the secret sale of prohibited writings.

Luther, whose controversies, religious publications, sermons and epistles had, in 1523, exceeded the first hundred and were circulating in a far greater number of editions, provided this literature as an example and a model. But gradually a whole chorus of spokesmen for evangelization joined in his mighty inspiring call. Still many Humanists were found in their ranks. Sometimes Erasmus was placed beside Luther, perhaps like the knight of Christ as with Dürer, or as "Holy Scripture's miller's man," while Luther assumed the part of the baking. This comparison, however, did not emanate from a Humanistic pen; shoulder to

shoulder with the poets who, according to Alexander's expression, had changed into "theologo-poets," the uneducated were fighting and in the place of the republic of the scientists and their followers advanced the nation. He who wished to talk wished to address the people, and never in the course of German history had this been done more perfectly. That which offends the present day readers,—the violent cynicism of the language,—guaranteed its penetrating power. It was, to use a description of Wilhelm Scherer, a mannish epoch of German literature; form was made unconditionally subservient to subject, by which the sense of beauty became atrophied, the cultivation of truthfulness developed into coarseness and the popular tone degenerated into rudeness.

This old trait of civil culture properly celebrated its triumph during and after the Reformation; to it were also devoted products of the Humanistic polemic, like Pirkheimer's "Planed-off Corner," or the "Murnarus Leviathan"; while on the other hand through the activity of the Humanists, of a Hutten and an Erasmus, the conversational form took root in German literature. With this reciprocal action naturally the national and popular tendency gained the victory, because the question was how to influence the widest spheres, and in the light of the new Christian freedom the nimbus of the changed classical culture paled rapidly, for in mat-

ters of a sinful and distressed conscience the uneducated, even the simpleton, could raise his voice as well as the uneducated man. Still more, Luther himself advocated the opinion which awakened the greatest reëcho, that as Jeremiah had found less understanding and favor with the higher people than with the laity and common people, so now "poor peasants and children will understand Christ like pope, bishops and doctors, and it has all been reversed." Did it not sound like a full confirmation of the faith spread long before in the reformatory mission of the small man? We find the same forces to which the origin and growth of this faith is due, the apocalyptic and astrological imaginings, still in full activity. On the occasion of the Peasants' War we shall have to refer again to their influence, which should not be underestimated, nor the personality of the German "prophet" to whom they strove to attach themselves.

Luther was hailed as the promised Elijah, with whose coming an enthusiastic adherer wished to start a new chronology, as the harbinger of the Son of Man who will come with the clouds in the heavens, or as a mysterious eagle whose song announces liberty. An ardent Augustinian, the Suabian Michael Styfel, gave proof in an "exceedingly beautiful artistic song" that Luther was that angel of the revelation who flies through the midst of heaven with the new evangelism. However, such

exaggerations responded neither to the nature of the Reformer nor to the simple grandeur of his actions. Thus the monkish singer laid aside his mystic plaything, when he wrote of the Worms diet:

“Zu Worms er sich erzeyget, er tratt keck vff den plan
Seyn feynd hat er geschweyget, keiner durfft jn wenden an.
Er lasszt sich nit erschrecken die schuehen fledermeyss
Sein leer thut er vollstrecken zu gottes lob vnd preyss.
Die worhet thut jn stercken, sye macht vil menschen wyss;
Der baur die sach wil mercken, das mueft Coelin vnd
Paryss.”

That the peasant has seen through the deceptions of the parsons, and if necessary would protect evangelism with hoe and flail, weaves like a red thread through this remarkable literature of pamphlets which, mostly in dialogue form, described the triumph of the divine Word over man's wits and of the simple layman over the hierarchy. The publications were not infrequently supported by coarse woodcuttings. The cause of God, betrayed by the great and the learned men, became the cause of the small and uneducated of the people themselves. Already the wording often hinted this fact. The author, for instance, passed as a Swiss peasant or a foot soldier, or, what was more often the case, the representation of divine truth and of common sense was given to men from the people. Sometimes they talked amongst themselves over a glass of wine, about Luther and his writings, and of the anti-

Christian beasts, parsons and monks. Though they called him a heretic, the poor "rot" liked him. One of these enthusiasts read to his bosom friend, in an inn, the second chapter of the second epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, which speaks of the man of sin and son of damnation. "Klauss," he asked him, "how do you like him? Do you know him?" And Klauss answered: "Now all the devils should fetch you; it is no other animal than the pope and his realm." Specially liked, however, was the disputation between one or several laymen and the priest or monk, who was always beaten in the end. The opponent might be a peasant or a citizen, a weaver, baker, shoemaker, tailor, even the most despised person, such as a brothel-keeper and his servant, but he quoted Bible and Church history with an eloquence that silenced a bishop. "To make trousers is no disgrace," said the tailor to the priest who admonished him to attend to his work; "you ought to be ashamed of yourself that you have deceived the world and abused the Christian faith."

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the tone of this polemic and criticism was frequently unspeakably coarse and vulgar. "You are a huffy lout," once declared an enemy of the parsons to his companion; "I think you must have been made by a hatter." We realize the inexhaustible variations of the old subject of the gluttonous and immoral

friar: "Kaesjaeger, Kaeshabichte, Kaeskoerbe, und Kaesbaeuche Wurstbuben, Kuttelsaecke, heilige Vaeter im Sauermilchhafen, des Teufels Mastschweine";—these and other titulations descended in a veritable rain upon the former friends and confidants of the people. The proper hero of the pamphlet remained the "huffy peasant," to whose grotesque rudeness the interspersed Bible quotations and Latin or even Hebrew phrases formed the strangest contrast. A special popularity was gained by "Karsthans," who in a dialogue of 1520 had beaten Luther's opponent Mürner with his arguments and at last called for his flail. It was the personification of the unspoiled and unsophisticated and therefore superior, small man, who knew of the teaching of Christ "as much as three parsons, and more." As it pointedly said in the title of a "fine dialogue" of 1521:

"Cuntz vnd der Fritz
die brauchent wenig witz;
es gildt vmb sy ain klains,
so seinds der sach schon ains;
sy redent gar on trauren
vnd sind gut Lutherisch bauren."

Luther, of course, was more than once the central figure, for instance, in the above-mentioned "passion," or in the humorous conversation between the herbs and the ointments in a dispensary, which had for its subject the decision at Worms. There were presented the figures of his literary chief opponents,

—Eck, Murner and Cochlaeus, who as Doctor Geck, Murnarr, Kochloeffel or Schnecke, were transformed into cats, donkeys and other animals. They were dragged along, with the pope and the cardinals, by Hutten at the tail of his horse, in a woodcutting which symbolized the "Triumph of Truth." Very significantly Luther and Carlstadt walked by the side of the chariot of victory. For, since 1521, one met here and there a union of Luther and his Wittenberg colleague, similarly as Hutten or Erasmus was associated with him. Moreover there were a large number of literary products in which the chief interest turned to the pope as the bodily antichrist. For instance, in a woodcutting-cycle which, under the title "Passion of Christ and antichrist," described the contrast between the Savior and his governor in very obvious clearness, it opposed the thorny crown with a tiara, the washing of feet with the kissing of the foot of the monarchs, and the child in the manger with the pope in armor, a halberd in his hand. This theme was exploited again and again in word and picture. Whether in the booklet of the old and the new God, the comparison of the Most Holy Lord and Father, the pope against the strange guest in Christendom called Jesus, the correspondence between Lucifer and Leo X, they all pursued the same aim. One let the pope hold a council of war with the cardinals and made his Swiss soldiers assault Heaven itself with

the watchword "prebend" and the slogan "fine women."

Nowhere, however, did these fancies find such powerful expression as in the two carnival plays which, composed by the intellectual painter Niklaus Manuel, were presented in public in the year 1522, in Berne, "with great success." In one of them the Roman indulgence paraphernalia was carried through all the streets, to the singing of the "bean-song." The first play touched upon an almost contemporary poem of the Basel printer Gengenbach and described the pope *Entchristelo* in his surroundings, the cardinal Anshelm von Hochmut, the bishop Chrysostomus Wolfsmagen, the dean Sebastian Schinddenburen, and other worthy representatives of the clergy, as "Eater of the dead," and showed how they made capital out of the laymen's fear of hell and purgatory. The questioner and "Nollbruder," the beguine Elslî Tribzio, and the wanderer Hans Schoelmenbein also clamored for their share.

But louder and louder grew the complaint of the totally changed sentiment of the peasants, who at every ecclesiastical demand required first the proof from the Holy Scriptures, and drew the New Testament from their breast pockets to defend themselves with strong quotations. "Dass gott die verfluecht truckery muess schenden," cried the abbot Adam Nimmergnuog, who had twelve horses and had to support seven handsome children according

to his social rank. Meanwhile, one of the spectators, the Apostle Peter, could not marvel enough at the appearance and the surroundings of his successor, whom he regarded with "Augenspiegeln" (eye mirrors). "That is a fellow whom I don't know," he remarked, "he could have no feet that he is carried on the shoulders of others." Besides Peter and Paul, there were several peasants,—Ruoffli Pffegel, Heini Filzhuot, Batt Suewschmer and others,—who represented the cause of evangelism. Their companions, Claeiwe Pfluog and Ruede Vogelnest, saw in the second play the two act with Christ and the pope, of whom the former as a "trut biderman" (an honest man) rode on a donkey, followed by poor people and cripples, while the pope was escorted by his whole war contingent and his Swiss guard with trumpets, trombones, drums and fifes, "pompous, as though he was the Turk emperor."

Manuel's sarcastic wit played still more brilliantly in the later dialogue,—“A wretched message to the pope concerning the soul-mass which is lying ill and wants to die.” In vain numerous doctors spent their efforts for the dying one, who was “nearer death than Schaffhausen was to the Rhine”; they wanted to carry her to purgatory to warm her, but “the peasants have poured the holy water into it and altogether extinguished the purgatory fire.” Then they were at their wits' end, “for of the fire

of the purgatory she had lived like the fish of the water." One of the doctors requested that the mass official should bring the Lord, in order to celebrate mass; the official replied: "Doctor, I cannot get him, for the Heavens are his chair and the earth his footstool. How could I catch him? He sits at the right hand of God. Reach up with your hands and take him down, I am much too short." Finally the doctors ran away; "and if she dies in our absence, we shall say the peasants have slain her."

It is a remarkable fact that in this literary work of the storm and stress period of the Reformation, Switzerland helped so vigorously that the great mass of the pamphlets emanated from the south of Germany, the volcanic soil of the peasant riots, as it were. But the importance of a popular literature lies in the fact that it shows what the people like best. Thus we learn here in a complete description what the lower classes, especially the South German peasants, accepted of the ecclesiastical movement and used for their purpose. They certainly had been wrought upon by sermon and press, but always in the direction that suited, and which was by no means strange to them. The embitterment of long standing and of great justification against a totally degenerated profession of privileged people, found sufficient food to develop into a Hussitic madness.

Already the formerly venerable rites of the cult, the excess of church adornments, the whole artistic side and symbolism of the old Church, the relics and the holy water, excited ill-humor and ridicule; "They make big crosses," was said of the celebrating priests, "they stretch their arms, and cut the funniest capers over the altar as though they wanted to imitate the dance of the Moors." One of the most interesting pamphlets, the "Neukarsthans" (summer of 1521), in which Sickingen the knight taught the peasant, commented unrestrainedly in the Taboritic sense about the Church and its regeneration. "We are all of the Church and nobody is more than another; also we, whom they call laymen, shall help to elect the bishops and parsons, and care for ourselves as well."

Thus Sickingen formulated the principle of the community, while at the same time he declared a peaceful reform of the hierarchy impossible, and the extermination of the bad shepherds necessary and imminent. One must after the example of Ziska, who was no fool, destroy their nest, that is, their churches and monasteries; God wanted to be prayed to in spirit and in the truth, not in churches of stone or wood.

The tone of this pamphlet was moderate when contrasted with the utterances of the Franciscan, Johann Eberlin von Guenzburg. In the example of this original and honest Suabian, who as a popular

preacher had labored with great zeal, "Francisci Tandmaehr and enlisted tertiarians" were shown the tremendous force and impression of the Church movement. With a shudder the disenchanted eye regarded the mother Church, which henceforth appeared to him as a Babylonian harlot; all that had been sacred and venerable was perverted to the contrary, and the old ecclesiastical habit of intolerance still clung and now turned against its originator. In the year 1521, after he had been driven from the Franciscan monastery, Eberlin published his "Fifteen Allies," a series of warlike writings the first of which,—*"A Plaintive Complaint,"*—appealed to Charles V in order to recommend to him the two divine messengers, Luther and Hutten, as the greatest friends of the emperor and truth, and to describe the Roman system of robbery. According to this calculation, Germany annually lost 300,000 florins through the papal chair, and more than a million through the four friar orders. This was stated only as an introductory reference, to show how in Eberlin, ecclesiastical and social-political radicalism combined. The writer used the most violent tone, both in the "Allies" and in the subsequent writings against the Church, and especially against his former colleagues, "the pigs of the monastery," whose number he estimated at 24,000 in Germany and 400,000 in the whole of Europe.

They were privileged sluggards and "soldiers of

Satan," whom one should compel to work or drive out of the country. When, eager to listen to the divine Word, "the poor people come, whose sweat and work you eat in your roguery, you do naught else than spit venom and devil's muck into them; out, out with you!" The Franciscan was either a fool or a knave, the so-called saints were often enough the decoy birds of the devil. The saints' fraud of the friars would not cease "until the peasants one day hang and drown the wicked and the righteous all together." The common man was quite heated against the parson, "when one calls a man a parson one has in mind a soulless, God-forsaken fellow, full, lazy, miserly, quarrelsome, cantankerous, whoring and adulterating. I am afraid to show my tonsure." Thus wailed one of the pious, disconsolate parsons whose lamentations Eberlin published together with the "Allies." When he himself called to the Ulm people that they should choke their children in their cradles rather than put them into a monastery, and pull down all the marble churches to build an airy hospital, or homes for poor people, or when he wished to forbid the teaching of other prayers besides the Lord's Prayer under the penalty of decapitation, it could not diminish the excitement of the common man, for Eberlin afterwards energetically fought the excesses on the evangelistic side.

A veritable catechism of priest-baiting was sup-

plied in the thirty articles added in print to the "Neukarsthans," for the purpose of which Yonker Helfreich, Knight Heinz and Karsthans united. They wanted to make out the pope as the anti-christ, his cardinals and curias as the devil's apostles, all monks as liars, the priests, as they were living, not as clerical fathers but as carnal knaves. They did not intend to give them another penny for church purposes; they wished to slay all the court-essans like rabid dogs, beat or kick without hesitation priests who gave them the slightest cause, throw a four-pound stone after every friar who demanded a "kaes" from them, drive out every official with dogs and pelt them with mire, cut the ears off every beadle who presented a citation or a ban brief, and gouge out his eyes in case of repetition. To rob a miserly priest they would reckon as no more sin than if "one had trod on a dice."

This fearful manifesto, after which one could well have expected an exact replica of the Huss revolution in Germany, finished with a declaration for Luther, and with the assurance that the conspirators only acted on behalf of the divine truth, the Christian faith and the Fatherland, "and what they do is done with an honest Christian intention." As real storm signs, not as literary ones, may be regarded the Erfurt priest riots in April, June and July, 1521; the wild brawls of the students and the mob were directed against the homes and the be-

longings of the clergy. Here and there the peasants began to refuse the priest every duty. A man like Mutian, the aging leader of the Erfurt Humanistic circle, fell into the most dire poverty. It can be imagined that anyone who was still attached to the Church by conviction or by material interests, raised the warning cry. Confidentially, not publicly, Erasmus had done this, and saw his name praised in the revolutionary pamphlets, for whose "Praise of foolishness" Eberlin's "Fifteen Allies" brought the sharpest of sallies in translation. He thought he could already see the greed for the abundance possessed by the clergy develop in a general attack upon the whole community of the ruling and wealthy classes.

Among the public champions who appeared against Luther and his adherents first place must be given to the intellectual Alsatian Franciscan Thomas Murner, who "knew something of every art," who had translated into German the "*Æneis*" and the "*Institutions*," composed manuals of jurisprudence and logic in the form of card games, and fought out many a literary battle. This monkish poet laureate, in his time the keenest judge and scoffer at clerical corruption, came forward with a translation of Luther's "*Babylonian Prison*" and entered into the struggle against the ecclesiastical revolution for whose Humanistic elements nobody had a better trained eye than this experienced satirist, who was

the author of the "Narrenbeschwoerung," and "Schelmenzunft und Gäuchmatt." As mercilessly as Murner's personality had been attacked by the opponents, he was at all events above the equivocal Cochlaeus (Johannes Dobeneck from Wendelstein), whose friendship to Pirkheimer and Hutten did not prevent his devoting himself in Rome to the prebend hunting. Murner was also above another pseudo-Humanist, the treacherous secretary of Georg of Saxony, Hieronymus Emser.

Among all these eminent defenders of the old Church and "Luther scourges," there was not one perfectly pure character, no man like Geiler von Kaisersberg, Heynlin von Stein, or Alexander Hegius. None the less, they certainly expressed the conviction of many when they branded Luther's work as that of destruction and himself as the "Saxonian Catilina." Murner and Emser by no means blindly concurred in the Roman conception of Church reform; they wished to see it realized through the emperor or through a council, and readily admitted the grave guilt of the hierarchy. As Murner once remarked:

"ich muss die warheyt sagen,
wir haben schuld daran;
der aplass lert sie klagen,
verfieret manchen man."

However, through this, Luther's breach with the Church was not justified in their eyes and with

special emphasis they always referred back to the fear that such a grave shock to the clerical authority must reflect necessarily upon all existing schemes of public order. "The ground is bottomless," thus Murner summarized all the sentiments, on one occasion; nothing but strife, riot and murder, in a word, "the near future seemed to want to bring us the Bundschuh." The witty monk had not yet forgotten how to laugh, which had become second nature to him. But it sounded quite different from before, mingled with scorn and the cry of passion against the book of the great Lutheran fool, as Doctor Murner had called him (1522).

The threat which was here thrown at the satirists' opponents was the wedding of the monk with Luther's daughter and the death of the great fool whose cap the poet at last assigned to himself. All this sometimes reminds us of Rabelais. But the keynote of the whole was Luther's alliance with the revolution. We see him in full armor as a captain, teaching his soldiers their duty and to prepare the Bundschuh so that it had a sweet flavor like muscatel wine, honey and sugar, a mixture which made the common man's mouth water; we see the three standards of evangelism, liberty and truth, and hear the watchword of equality given out:

"Dan Christus hat vuss al gefreit,
Das niemans guelt dem andern geit;
wir sein al pfaffen, edelman,
vnd sehen niemand weiter an;—

wir sein doch al eins vatters kind,
des wir auch gleich al erben sind;
wir woeln eins mit einander teilen."

It was absolutely necessary to recognize the tumult of a whole nation through such direct evidence. Not only the ruling and working ideas, but the form in which they were clothed, must by no means be regarded as negligible. This highly popular literature created for the day bore noticeably the sign of a revolutionary period, whose nature we can recognize more clearly than in even the most confidential utterances of the ecclesiastical and political leaders. There was only one more voice powerful enough to make itself heard through the roar of the approaching storm. Luther had been proclaimed as the hero of the revolution in both camps, by friend as well as foe. He had to answer to the call which went through his very soul.

Since the 4th of May, 1521, Luther,—changed into a "Squire Georg,"—had stayed at Wartburg near Eisenach. His hiding place for a long time was unknown even to the princes-elect and Duke Johann, and the secret of the mock assault and abduction was known only to the participants, the castellan, Spalatin, and a few Wittenberg colleagues. As late as the year 1549, Cochlaeus regarded the castle at Allstädt as the former asylum of the Reformer. Frederick the Wise wished to

leave open for himself the possibility of asserting his ignorance of the whereabouts of Luther, under oath if necessary. The rescue of the banned man always remained a great risk, and even if Charles' absence from Germany somewhat mitigated the seriousness of the situation, the prince-elect, on the other hand, was not able to keep his protégé for any length of time within the limits of the precautions forced upon him.

"A strange sort of prisoner, half willing, half reluctant," Luther resigned himself to his new life, whose monotony and inactivity were a hard trial for him; even under the unaccustomed rich fare he had to suffer much in the beginning. "Idle and intoxicated," he was sitting there, so he wrote to Spalatin on one occasion; but it was rather an excess of literary work, which occasionally was interrupted by a ride or a chase, that caused the lonely man physical and mental ailing. He tried hard to see a divine ordinance in this "imprisonment," and even sent a letter to Spalatin which was purposely to be played into the hands of their opponents, in order to divert their suspicion from the Wartburg castle and to Bohemia. He lived and moved in his newly-begun work, which was taken out of his hands.

High up in the solitude "in the regions of the birds," whose singing delighted his heart, he saw the shape of the degenerated Church, and the phan-

tom figure of the Roman antichrist, before him and on the hare hunt he must needs think of the devil who with his hounds, the godless bishops and theologians, hunts the poor souls. In his room, he imagined he heard the wicked enemy knocking around. That much vaunted ink-spot did not, as a matter of fact, emanate from Luther, but we know with what forcible language he was wont to assist himself in such vexatious moments.

Although it was Luther's habit to trace even the small vicissitudes of life, especially his bodily conditions, to a special intervention of heaven or hell, the superb ruggedness of his constitution prevented him from wrapping himself in such thoughts, or probably he derived a deeper consecration of his own person from them. What a seductive element for a mystically disposed nature lay in this seclusion and quietude! Luther remained absolutely certain that he was the tool of God and a personal enemy of the devil; but against the "lebendigverfaulen" (mental decay) of his seclusion he fought bravely and found the remedy in hard work. Whenever he paused from writing, he took up the Old and New Testament in the original text. Thus he was no daydreamer in the Wartburg castle, but became the translator of the Bible.

A burden beyond his power, he pronounced the prodigious work, the beginnings of which were in 1521; "we all should work at it," he wrote to

Armsdorf, "because it is a general work and belongs to the common weal." About the need of it there could not be any doubt; the previous German translation reproduced only the Latin Bible, with a literalness and awkwardness which could not satisfy the minds of the sixteenth century, thirsting for scriptural understanding. For what formerly had been recommended without any prospect of realization, that every Christian should read the Bible himself, now became insistent and would not be denied.

Luther had begun in 1517 to make a few parts of the Scriptures accessible, through his interpretation, to "all dear members of Christ"; first, as he said in his letter, to his raw Saxons. In a defense of his doctrines composed shortly before his Worms journey, he said the Bible is explained through itself in the safest and easiest way, and could be understood by the simple people. One should lay aside all other books and ponder day and night over the law of our Lord. Every town ought to have its Bible translator, he wrote in the beginning of the work to his friend Lang who, in the summer of 1521, published the Gospel according to St. Matthew in German.

Others also tried their hand in the translation of single biblical parts, but none of the German contemporaries could have achieved for his nation what Luther's energy and linguistic genius accomplished

during those years of most laborious struggle. A popular book of the grandest style which, in spite of its heterogeneous parts, appeared as if it were formed out of one mold, and although of Oriental origin, yet seemed as if grown on German soil, was "a noble and imperishable lawbook of the language." Thus spoke Wilhelm Scherer of the Bible translation of Luther, whose emphatic wish to be intelligible both to "high and lowlanders" was to be fulfilled, and whose loving work should establish the linguistic union of Germany, and through it form an imperishable shield of protection for future times of religious and political disruption. With full justification, Jacob Grimm described the new High German as the "Protestant dialect."

In the year 1534, the first edition of the whole Bible was finished, but until then there could be counted, of the New Testament and of the singly published parts of the Old Testament, about a hundred and fifty prints, mainly Wittenberg original editions and the productions of literary theft brazenly carried out. Luther, who was well known to refuse every honorarium, had a clear case of theft and robbery against the printers, but was not disposed to do anything to protect himself or prevent the rapid spreading of his work. The New Testament, translated in about three months and afterwards given "the finishing touches" in Wittenberg, with the help of his friends, first

appeared on the 21st of September, 1522, but without Luther's name. Despite a big edition and a Basel reprint, a new edition had to be published in December. In those days the Basel printer thought himself called upon to translate Luther's "foreign words" into High German. In 1533, the Luther Bible appeared in Low German. But the victory of the new written language was only a question of time. Luther declared the Saxonian chancery language to be his adopted standard and, in truth in the fourteenth century, the imperial and subsequently the princely and municipal chanceries had introduced a sort of universal idiom for official business affairs, whose mixing of North and Middle German elements seemed to be suitable for the communication between the North and South of the empire.

Meanwhile, Luther neither tied himself to this, in many respects, unpleasant German chancery idiom, nor did he allow himself to be unduly influenced by the older Bible translations which he partly employed, particularly for his New Testament. He had demonstrated how only the observation, the ordinary daily life, of the mother in the home, the children in the street, the common man in the market, could infuse the warmth of life into his language. Naturally he could not use "court and castle expressions" in a book which, in his own words, went into publicity "that the plain man may

be guided from his old imaginings on to the right path and instructed in it."

By thus placing the divine Word into the hands of the people, he did not make the claim of infallibility, either for his translation or for his exegesis of the Scriptures. In sharp contrast to the older ecclesiastic conciseness was the desire that every Christian reader's own scriptural research should render his, as well as all teachers' interpretation, quite superfluous. To show, however, that he did not wish to have any human interpretation of the Scriptures accepted as final and binding for all future time, he gave examples of a bold, subjective criticism of several biblical books. The test of their "honesty," their evangelic and apostolic character, was given by the question "whether they studied Christ or not," that is, the question according to its conformity with his doctrine of salvation. Wherever this agreement seemed to lack, the principle came into force: "to maintain Christ against the book."

From this remarkable fact it resulted that Luther, in the midst of the fight for the divine Word and against all the wit of man, and no less with sovereign freedom, repudiated the epistle according to James as a "strawy one," found and censured a "hard knot" in the epistle of the Hebrews, and denied all divine inspiration to the Apocalypse. "Let everybody think of it as his mind is inspired,

my mind cannot adapt itself to the book at all." The numerous statements to which he demurred had created a tremendous popularity for this book. Luther's New Testament was alone distinguished by a number of woodcuttings which gave renewed evidence of the general predilection for everything fantastic, while the rich pictorial adornment did not harmonize at all with the derogatory comments of the translator.

The self-glorifying boldness with which Luther acted in the translation and interpretation of the Word of the Scriptures would naturally increase the indignation of his opponents, although Emser, Eck and other Catholic Bible translators did not hesitate afterwards to copy the "sweet and good German" of the heretic with slight alterations. Even Duke Georg could not suppress the desire, "if the monk would only translate the Bible all in German and did what he ought to do." But we must, in order not to judge with injustice that forceful assuredness of the Reformer, always remind ourselves through what hard struggles it had been won and maintained. "How often," he wrote to the Wittenberg Augustinians in November, 1521, "has my heart been palpitating, and punished and reproached me with their" (the opponents') "strongest argument! You alone are clever. Do all the others err and have they erred for such a long time? How then, suppose *you* should err and lead so many people

into error, if they all should be condemned? Since Christ has strengthened and confirmed me with his sure and only word, my heart ceases palpitating and sets itself against these arguments of the papists like a stone wall against the waves, and scorns their threats and storming."

It is true, the tortures of doubt and the pressure of the most fearful responsibility had more than once been in his soul, but the Luther whom the enemies beheld did not bear the features of a struggling man many times humiliated, but he appeared to them always in the full confidence of victory and the inexorableness of a divine warrior. He could not constrain himself to hurl his missiles from the Wartburg castle, to the horror of the cautious "Pharisees and hypocrites," as he called them, at the prince electoral court. And the tone of several writings which the banished and outlawed man issued in those days showed neither any consideration for the difficult position of the prince-elect nor for the existing excitement of the people's minds.

Luther himself thought a breaking out of the popular hatred, the German "Karsthansen" against the clergy, was probable, and yet he shouted louder than ever into the world that the pope was the "devil's sow"; the bishops were larvæ and monsters; the priests, Baals; the parsons, in their consecration, the sign of the apocalyptic animal; their teachings and works lies of the devil, their universi-

ties temples of Moloch and dens of thieves. And as an answer to the fact that his name had been added to the heretic list of the so-called Holy Communion bull, he dedicated to the "most holy chair at Rome and its whole parliament," as a New Year's wish, the translation and glossary of the "Bull of the nightly gluttony of the most holy master, the pope." It is worth while to note in the introduction of this pamphlet the mad humor of which the Reformer was capable. "My grace and greeting first," he began, "most holy chair. Don't crack and break down at this new greeting, in which I put my name first and forget the kissing of feet. We are having a new year now which you have never experienced before. I thank you, you graceful, tender, well learned chair; instead of common Christendom formerly of German nationality, that you also open the eyes of your grace and the shrine of your mercy and let us see the highly celebrated and deeply feared and far hidden bull of the night gluttony of your master." "I tell you," he added later on, "even if it has been written in the midst of a Latin land, it is yet so un-Latin as though a kitchen boy had written it. It is seemly to talk such Latin on a drunken night, at a time when the tongue is on stilts and reason rides with half a sail. Like the Germans sing: 'In the evening I was drunk and then I spoke my mind.'"

But he confessed that his laughing ceased before

the fearful spectacle of a priesthood which abused the name of God in order to lay a curse upon every limitation of their authority and income. When Luther at the enumeration of the various ecclesiastical bloodsuckers exclaimed: "The Rhine would not be sufficient to drown all these knaves, when he in his cautioning against rioting and revolt, is yet pleased that the threatening mood of the common man inspires the papists with fear, one must not forget, by what means the papal régime had hitherto and also afterwards maintained itself." And when occasionally, from the Protestant side, the unbounded violence of the polemic of Luther, especially his lack of respect for his opponent and his unconditional accusation of stubbornness, has been censured, it cannot be disputed, on the other hand, that with him, as Vorreiter said: "Every understanding in the scientific domain is impossible." But one should also ask himself whether such an understanding was possible with Roman priest rule, and if the representatives of a Church were in the habit of paying respect to their opponents and presupposed with them an honest intention so long as they refused blind submission. Without force, without passion and without revolution, Germany would never have been able to tear herself from Rome.

In truth, the most wonderful position in the world was held by this banished and outlawed monk in the

Wartburg castle who, struck from the ranks of those entitled to live, continued to keep the ecclesiastic and worldly powers moving. Nothing was more typical of this than his procedure against Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz who, on his own part, in spite of the Worms edict, prohibited preaching against Luther, and upon the urgent persuasion of his cathedral preacher, Wolfgang Capito, looked into the Bible and even thought of preaching a sermon. It is true that financial considerations caused him to announce again a traffic in indulgences in Halle, where he did not wish to let his grand collections of relics remain unused.

Upon the news that Luther, exasperated to the utmost because of this, would write against the cardinal, Capito, a friend of reform in the Erasmic sense, effected the intervention of Prince-elect Frederick, who forbade his protégé, through Spalatin, to engage in any literary work of that nature. Luther replied that he would not put up with this; he would rather destroy Spalatin, the prince-elect and the whole world. But still, when he agreed to hold back the publication of the writing, he fixed a term of fourteen days for the Mainz cardinal. If at the end of that time the indulgence traffic and the proceedings against the married clergymen were not terminated, he would "announce to all the world the difference between a bishop and a wolf." He did not like to cause any disgrace to the prince-elect,

but the glory of God should be upheld "even if the whole world,—not I speak, poor man that I am,—but a cardinal, had to be disgraced for it." In reply, there came a meek letter in which the prince-elect Albrecht confessed that without the grace of God he was nothing more than others,—a stinking dirt,—and could well accept brotherly and Christian punishment. He wanted to show Luther his grace and benevolence. The latter, however, confined himself to bluntly repudiating Capito, who had likewise conducted the affair of his master by correspondence and, in truly Erasmic style, emphasized his own promotion of the gospel "with secret means."

While the first prince of the empire humiliated himself before the outlaw, and the sovereign and protector had to see his command disregarded, dangers of a totally different nature loomed up which affected the Reformer. These were the favor or disfavor of the princes and the safety of his own person. Until then his work had belonged to him; now he knew there were strange uncalled hands striving to continue and reshape it, so that for the first time he was obliged to confront his own ideas in a distorted version. His principles of free scriptural research and general priesthood had propagated in excited minds a different spirit from what he intended. Wittenberg itself seemed destined to become the home of the evangelistic radicalism

whose first utterances sufficed to separate the Reformer from the revolutionary elements of the movement once and for all.

Luther's removal had not diminished the attraction of the University of Wittenberg; the number of students went into the thousands and the difference between this high school and the others must have been impressive when one could see the young people walking about unarmed and almost everyone carrying a Bible instead, like peaceful "Brethren in Christ," as an eye witness reported. The youthful Melanchthon, who in the new theology seemed almost to forget his love for the classics, was in Luther's opinion the right man to defend him. Their friendship was still in its beautiful first flush; Luther perhaps even imagined himself the harbinger of the "little Greek" who was destined to finish the work. Melanchthon thought the occupation with the Bible sweet, "like heavenly ambrosia." Quite absorbed in the epistles of Paul he published the "Clouds" of Aristophanes in order to inculcate strongly into the youth the shortcomings and the harm of all philosophical studies. While emulating the train of thought of his great friend, the latter seemed even to be outstripped by the boldness of the theologian tyro who, in 1521, undertook in his *loci communes* to establish a whole series of fundamental ideas, one might say, of foundation stones of the future evangelistic

edifice of teaching. Already the harsh dogma of predestination advocated there gave evidence of the wide gulf that separated the first Humanist of Wittenberg from Erasmus and his adherents. We also hear elsewhere that in those days Erasmus was criticised severely and regarded as a half heretic on account of his Platonic and Pelagian inclinations.

However, beside and above Melanchthon, from the circle of university teachers rose a man who was prepared to take Luther's place with unshakable determination. The gifted and ambitious Franconian Carlstadt had converted himself from the most zealous scholastic into an adept at mysticism, because of which, partly in consequence of serious differences of opinion and partly from offended vanity, his relations with Luther became more and more strained. His break with the Church was certainly the result of an absolute conviction, but the proclamation which he, in his writing concerning papal holiness (October, 1520), addressed to the Franconian nobility, almost made the impression of a copy from a greater model.

Carlstadt possessed just enough spontaneity to feel himself hampered by the overwhelming personality of a Luther, and enough of imagination to be a rival in all earnestness. When, in the spring of 1521, King Christian II made the attempt to draw both of them to Denmark, this imagination must have expanded and grown. It did not come

to a journey by Carlstadt to Copenhagen, as was formerly erroneously assumed, but he remained in Wittenberg, where he really succeeded in giving a quicker pulsation to the religious movement. A later pamphlet correctly ascribed the intention to him of evicting everything belonging to the realm of the pope that Luther had left over.

Not by the laity, but by the ecclesiastical side, the first steps for the realization of the new ideas had been taken. After a few ecclesiastics in his vicinity had married on their own authority, Carlstadt demanded obligatory matrimony for the priests and for monastery inmates.

On Michaelmas day, 1521, Melanchthon with his pupils received the Holy Communion in both forms in the Wittenberg parish church; shortly afterwards the Augustinian Gabriel Zwilling declared from the pulpit of his monastery chapel that the ecclesiastical celebration of mass was idolatry, and the brethren agreed with him despite the prior who, by his strong objection against the innovation, prevented for the time any mass at all being held in the monastery. There were already many who claimed the little Bohemian monk, to whom Luther himself attributed "a special gift of preaching," as the right successor of the Reformer. Melanchthon did not miss any of his sermons. A decided intervention on the part of the prince-elect was not to be expected; the commission of the canons of the chapter and the uni-

versity teachers, which was constituted at his instigation, openly recommended to him to abolish the abuse of mass as soon as possible throughout the whole country, and calmly accept the reproach of Hussitic heresy which could not be avoided.

Matters in Wittenberg assumed a more and more Hussitic aspect. Citizens and students began to participate in the movement, deride the monks and disturb the old divine services. In the beginning of November, thirteen Augustinians discarded their cowls and resigned from the monastery in order to walk the pavement of the town, "to the disgrace of the order and provocation of the inhabitants," the prior complained. Carlstadt, who had at first censured the proceedings of the Augustinians against mass as rashness, mounted the pulpit. "All the people said, never was this Carlstadt, such precious things he preached." It was he who, at Christmas, celebrated the new evangelic mass in the collegiate church and gave the community the bread and the wine without previous confession; the following day he became engaged to a poor girl of the nobility and married a parson to his cook. On New Year's day in Wittenberg more than a thousand people crowded to the utraquistic Communion; many joined from the neighboring places, and Zwilling preached outside in his student's frock and fur cap. He declared asceticism and the last anointing to be a money speculation of the priests. His Wittenberg

friends hastened, after a chapter of the congregation had prohibited mendicancy and the votive masses, and made the leaving of monasteries voluntary, to remove all the altars but one, and burn the pictures and the holy oil. Already utterances were made which recalled the mad language of Hussite radicalism; it was better to build gallows and places of execution than altars, and the profession of a henchman was more useful than that of an idolatrous priest.

We must admit that our authorities do not vouchsafe to us sufficient explanation whether and how influences of Hussite teaching had propagated in the Saxonian country; but the traceable infection of other territories conterminous with Bohemia,—for instance, Franconia,—spoke very much in favor of the assumption that the remarkable phenomena so pregnant with consequences which characterized the religious movement in Zwickau, were to be traced at least partly to Bohemian influences. As once in Bohemia, so now in Zwickau, the artisans cultivated an intensely religious life, wrought up into fervency; and what we learn of the fantasticness of these brooding cloth weavers not only reminds of Taboritic doings, but also of the radical mysticism of the Apocalypse long accepted in Germany. Like so many of the older representatives of a "beghardian," flagellating, or Joachimistic chiliasm, the Zwickauer cloth weaver Nikolaus Storch seems to

have thought himself to be the God-sent leader of a world to be reformed; from the lips of the angel Gabriel he had been prophesied, "thou shalt sit on my throne." That Storch the layman understood the Bible better than any priest was shown to the Zwickauer community by the preacher Thomas Muenzer, on account of whose demagogic nature the former favorite Egranus, a man of Erasmic tendencies, was forced to leave the town. The banishment also included Muenzer, who for a time admired in Luther "the model and shining light of the friends of God," while a mutiny, inspired by the Zwickauer cloth weaver apprentices, was suppressed through the energetic measures of the town council. Muenzer, already living in apocalyptic expectations, went to Bohemia, where the old violent spirit of Huss had begun to stir anew. The festival of Johannes Huss on July 7 caused an iconoclasm in several monasteries. November 1 a proclamation of Muenzer was displayed, full of sallies against the "priests and apes," with a prediction that here the new Church would begin and the Bohemian people would be a model for all the world.

The fearless prophet who pledged his temporal and eternal salvation upon the infallibility of his "art" was at once placed under supervision. He asserted that he had undertaken the Bohemian journey only in the hope of death as a martyr.

Some time after this failure to start a revolution in Bohemia, we find Muenzer's Zwickau friends in Wittenberg, with the obvious intention of fanning the religious excitement into a storm. They were led by the master himself, the gaunt and insinuating Nikolaus Storch who had escaped a trial pending in Zwickau; the intercourse with the Wittenberg scientists was chiefly cultivated by a former student and acquaintance of Melancthon,—Markus Thomae Stuebner. The former, however, felt deeply moved at this first meeting with an element whose undeniable force seemed altogether incomprehensible to his mind, which was accustomed to the working out of keen and pure ideas. Here were those whom he could not fully understand, and whom he did not dare to hold in disdain, as he wrote in his embarrassment to the prince-elect. Their arguments against the baptism of children found a special support in his own scruples. He invited Markus to his home, while friend Armsdorf did not even venture to see the dangerous man, much less to speak to him. Quite differently from the theologians, their wondrous speeches must have influenced the multitude when they told of their conversations with God, when they voiced their revelations of the imminent invasion of the Turks, of the doom of all sinners, and the slaying of all the priests, including the married ones. Against this direct intercourse of the individual with the

Fountain-Head of all truth, the prerogative of the free scriptural research which had been preached recently seemed to lose all value. Man, the taught, had to be instructed solely through the spirit, for if God had intended to teach him through the Scriptures he would have sent a Bible from heaven. That such tendencies would not halt at the existing scheme of worldly order was self-evident and had already occurred in Zwickau. In spite of this, Prince-elect Frederick could not resolve to use force; coupled with his aversion to undertake an irrevocable step was an exaggerated fear of interference in religious matters. He declared that ere he would knowingly act against God, he would prefer to take a stick in his hand and go away; even the risk of losing his land and his people vanished before the question if the truth could not be really on the side of the Zwickauers,—a conception which was still supported by the doubts of his Wittenberg theologians.

Meanwhile, Carlstadt used the prevailing confusion to realize, with the help of his congregation, his ideal of an ecclesiastical and civic order. Besides accepting a new mass and abolishing all pictures there was provided in the "reformation" of January 24, 1522, sanctioned by the town council and the university, a regulated poor relief, the institution of a general treasury from church contributions, support of needy artisans with loans bearing

no interest and with the reduction of the general rate of interest. The original proposals of the community had made the claim that everybody should be permitted to preach the divine Word without interference a preëminent one, and like the Taborites had demanded strict moral conduct and especially the abolition of the brothels. But for the present everything faded into insignificance before the agitation against the images of the saints, those "blockheads and buffoons" against whom Carlstadt turned his whole fiery eloquence in writing and speech, not without the open confession that even he found it difficult sometimes to overcome the instilled "harmful fear" of the stone and wooden "devil's heads." The breaking out of iconoclasm was of course imminent. Many wished to manifest the new freedom by doing away with all outward indications that reminded them of the old ecclesiastical order of things; they were proud to grasp the bread and the communion cup with their own hands and to eat meat on fasting days.

Nothing characterizes the former restraint and pressure more strikingly than this kind of retaliation which was easily exercised under the weakness of the government. But one was conscious that a beginning had been made and greater things were to be expected; as an eyewitness remarked, "the prince cannot prevent it any longer, other princes may act in this as they like, they will not damp or

suppress it, it is of God or out of God, and hence we shall yet see wonders." Already this fervent self-exaggeration turned against the university, moreover against all schools and all learning as something superfluous in the future. The school-master More even induced the parents to take their children from the schools. And how surprised the citizens were when the highly learned Dr. Carlstadt visited them in their homes and asked their advice about the interpreting of difficult Bible passages, as God had hidden his secrets to the wise and revealed them to the minors! The exalting of the insignificant and uneducated, of which so many prophecies were in circulation, seemed really to be close at hand. It was the decisive moment. Neither the inactivity of Frederick the Wise, nor the haziness of a leader like Carlstadt could have averted the dangers which lay in the growth and passing victory of an evangelistic radicalism. That the movement could assert itself as a repetition of Taborism was not to be thought of, but as Ranke said: "Force would have invoked force, both good and bad would have been destroyed together."

Then Luther roused himself. As a sweeping gust of wind disperses the clouds of fog and chases it away, his mighty word banished the phantomlike activity of the visionaries and fanatics. But it was a painful victory for him. "All my enemies," he exclaimed, "together with all devils as they are

approaching me are many, but they have not hurt me as I am hurt now by my own people and I must confess that the smoke badly bites in my eyes and almost tickles me down to the heart; here I will, so the devil thought, take the heart out of Luther, and weaken his inflexible mind; this trick he will not grasp, nor overcome."

For a long time he had been looking on from the distance; in December, 1521, he had surprised his Wittenberg friends by a visit. He had practically agreed to the fight against celibacy, private mass and monastic vows, and the Zwickau prophets did not affect him much. What filled him more and more with anxiety was the riotous manner of procedure, and the intolerance towards those of a different opinion, towards the weak ones, as he expressed himself. Despite the boundless violence of his language, every actual utterance of aggression and fanaticism was against his nature.

On the other hand, the timid attitude of his prince-elect, who would neither admit nor surpress the innovations, awakened in him a feeling bordering on contempt. Still, in the month of February, he announced to the sovereign his resolve to go to Wittenberg. In his brief letter he also congratulated Charles, with sarcastic reference to Frederick's passion for relics, upon the new salvation, that is, the visitation of the Wittenberg troubles. An urgent dissuasion on the part of the prince-elect, whose

reply to the lesson given him struck a most modest tone, naturally could not hold the man back who was ready and prepared for the journey.

Yonker Georg was riding on his way. His hand was upon the hilt of his sword, and a psalm lay on the table in front of him. Thus a couple of students met the strange horseman in the "Bear Inn" at Jena. As he was having his serious and humorous chats with the guests without being recognized, treating the young people and in a jovial manner pledging his drink to them amidst sorrows and dangers, this attractive and at the same time elevating picture must not be overlooked, if we desire to come in close touch with the man in Luther.

Immediately after this, on the way, he wrote that powerful letter to his sovereign and protector in which the rôles appear totally changed and the fearless trust in God of the outlaw offers itself to the faint-hearted prince as a footing and support. Luther refused now, as he did before, all consideration for Frederick's difficult position, not to speak of Duke Georg, but he also exonerated his master from the obligation to do anything further for him. Should, however, the prince-elect himself attempt to seize him, he said what would have to be done in that case: "Your Electoral Grace is herewith informed that I am coming to Wittenberg under a much higher protection than that of the prince-elect. Neither is it my intention to ask protection of Your

Electoral Grace. Yes, I even assert I could protect Your Electoral Grace better than you could protect me. He who is strongest in faith will here be able to afford the most protection, and since I feel that Your Electoral Grace is yet weak in the faith, I can in no way regard Your Electoral Grace as the man who could protect or save me. It is a different man from Duke Georg with whom I am dealing; he knows me well and I don't know him less well. If Your Electoral Grace would have faith, you would be able to see God's glory, but as you do not yet have faith, you have neither seen anything yet."

Luther in those days was in the full prime of his development. Although the portraits that have been preserved of him do not clearly picture his outward appearance, it was vividly described by an eyewitness, Johannes Kessler, one of the Swiss students. The Reformer of 1522 looked quite different from the emaciated monk of former days; "of a natural comely stoutness, with an erect gait, rather inclining to the back than to the front, with a countenance lifted up towards Heaven, with deep black eyes and eyebrows twinkling and blinking like a star so that it is difficult to endure their gaze." They were the eyes of a born ruler, and as such Luther faced his followers in an eight days' succession of sermons whose combination of sharp criticism and great gentleness makes us comprehend

/ that the opponents did not dare utter one word in reply. Against that "loveless freedom" which knows no consideration for the weaker brother and thereby changes itself into the worst restraint, he opposed the demand for an unconditional and inviolable freedom of conscience for all. "The sum total is this: I will preach it, I will say it, I will write it, but compel and press anybody with force I will not. For faith wants to be educated in us willingly and not forcibly. Take an example in myself. I have opposed the indulgences and all papists, but not with force. I have only studied the divine Word, preached and written it, I have not done anything else. And that has, while I have been asleep, and I was drinking Wittenberg beer with my Philippo and Armsdorf, done so much that the papacy has become so weak that never a prince nor emperor has harmed it more." With all justification he could complain that he was not consulted in such important changes: "It was not I who has ever spoiled it, but I have also been the first whom God has chosen for this undertaking."

One can say that with the conservative character of the Lutheran Reformation these occurrences were decisive. There could not be any more question of an alliance with the political social revolution in any shape and form, so far as Luther's person was concerned. The Zwickauers, whom he had not even deemed worthy of mention in his ser-

mons, made a few attempts to approach him, but neither their flatteries nor their high flowing mystical attitude had the desired effect, and the trick of Markus Stuebner, who pretended to have discovered in Luther's most secret thoughts an inclination to their teaching, was bluntly thrust aside.

But free and great as Luther was in facing these shackled minds, clearly as the rejection of all restraint and force in matters of faith contributed to his honor, he cannot be exonerated from the fault of leaving the completion of the work begun by himself to the future, to the word alone, as he expressed himself. With full justification his biographer Koestlin emphasized the indistinctness in which had been left the future relation between the strong and the weak, between those of evangelism and the old faith, and how in Luther's sermons there cannot be found "any solution, or answer, or even any notice of these questions and problems."

Here was a characteristic of the weaker side of the German Reformer who did not possess the slightest trace of political foresight, nor the talent for organization of a Calvin or a Loyola. When at first a really double Holy Communion, in one and in both forms, was instituted in Wittenberg, and when besides the innovations in the divine service of the parish church, the canons of the castle church continued with the old cult as before, the untenableness of the situation was certain soon to become obvious.

And those mystic and apocalyptic movements, as slightly as Luther treated them at the time, had their origin not in the arbitrariness of the individual, but in the deeply rooted need of the masses, a fact which could not remain in any doubt much longer.

But these inner difficulties and dangers receded before the enthusiasm which, at the first victorious advance of the Reformation, communicated itself to its leaders and adherents. It almost appeared as though, according to Luther's hopeful prediction, the divine Word could conquer hearts without any human assistance, and before its mighty blow the decayed structure of priest rule must fall to pieces. In an uncomparably beautiful way, Ranke described those young, hope-inspired days of the ecclesiastical revolution. "There were no preparations to be made, no plan to be arranged; there was no need for a mission; as over the tilled fields at the first favor of the spring sun the seed is blossoming forth everywhere, so the new convictions penetrated through everything one had experienced and heard, readily prepared in the domain where German was spoken, to the light quite spontaneously or at the slightest causation."

For the first time the old contrast between High Germans and Low Germans was shaken, and the feeling of a new solidarity penetrated to the farthest extremes of the empire, reaching many a half-forgotten outpost of German nationality. Frisians,

Tyrolese, Swiss and Livonians collaborated in the most momentous deed in German history. In the forefront of the workers and fighters were the monks, preëminently Luther's brethren of the order, as was to be expected. But Stupitz was no more by the side of his former protégé, before whose growing boldness he had already retired, in 1519, to the bitter disappointment of Luther. The old man, in the last letter which he wrote to the Reformer as abbot of a Salzburg Benedictine monastery, called him his pupil and a harbinger of the Gospel, but for the further development of the Reformation he did not have a full appreciation, and his undeniable adherence to the Lutheran vindication doctrine had only slight significance.

CHAPTER X

AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE NEW FAITH

WILLINGLY did the younger generation follow the great heretic. The rapidity with which the Wittenbergers, and soon the Erfurter Augustinians, blew up the gates of their monasteries went beyond his wishes. Luther's friend Lang explained his resignation, among other motives, with the assertion that the priors were generally asses. A chapter of the German congregation at Grimma (Whitsuntide, 1522) made the strongest efforts to unite that which could not be united, and to create a free, evangelistic monkdom; but at the beginning of 1523 the vicar Wezeslaus Link had resigned his dignity and entered into the state of matrimony.

One by one the German convents were dissolved, —in Erfurt, Eisleben, Magdeburg, Gotha, Nürnberg. At Wittenberg only a former prior held out in a monastery even as Luther, without paying any attention to the examples of his friends and adherents, observed Lent for quite a time and only in October, 1524, bade farewell to his worn out cowl.

Nobòdy had more sharply criticised the very worldly motives which not infrequently led a monk to quit the monastery that he "may resign for the same reason which has induced him to enter, namely, for the sake of the belly and carnal freedom." However, he was far from despairing of the cause itself on account of the abuses; his slender means were at all times at the disposal of such "runaways" and he was not afraid to cause the abduction of several nuns from the monastery of Nimttsch, where they were detained against their will. As was the case with his Augustinians, though there were some complaints he had many pleasant experiences. Mighty preachers of the new doctrine arose, like Gabriel Zwilling, who was soon cured of his mystic fervor; the Erfurter Johannes Lang, whose superlative zeal Luther tried again and again to subdue; and, above all, the Bavarian Caspar Guettel, whose popular, refreshing and stirring eloquence once kept his hearers spellbound for days in the open market in Arnstadt. It was he who uttered the beautiful declaration,—“Our abbot is Christ, we all are the brethren, a clerical community.”

The Netherlands and Augustinians also preached the Gospel, at first in their monastery chapels and afterwards in the streets. Theirs was old, heretical soil. Taboritic-Waldensian teachings, like the denial of transubstantiation, seemed to have preserved themselves from the fifteenth century. Netherland

monks had chiefly supported those first riotous aspirations of Zwilling in Wittenberg. But from the ranks of the Netherlanders emerged the first martyrs of the Reformation. In Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Ghent, Ypres and Antwerp, the Lutheran appeals of this monastic people were heard, although many of them bowed before the sternness of the imperial edict. The prior of Antwerp, Jakob of Ypres, called "Præpositus" (prior) who was scared into a public revocation, soon relapsed and only by a luckily carried out flight, escaped execution. He afterwards wrought as an evangelistic preacher in the north of Germany. His successor in office, Henry von Zuetphen, was also arrested, but liberated through a revolt led by armed women. Two young Augustinians, however, Henry Voes and Johannes von Essen, were forced to mount the pyre in Brussels, on July 1, 1523, as blood victims of the new teaching. Henry von Zuetphen soon followed them, after his escape from Antwerp; he was tortured to death in Ditmarschen by a fanatical crowd of peasants. To those "two young boys," however, who had died in Brussels as heroes of faith, Luther dedicated his immortal "new song," whose last strophes end in a veritable jubilation of victory:

"Die Aschen will nicht lassen ab,
Sie staeubt in allen Landen
Hie hilft kein Bach, Loch, Grub noch Grab,
Sie macht den Feind zu Schanden.

Die er im Leben durch den Mord
 Zu schweigen hat gedrungen,
 Die muss er tot an allem Ort
 Mit aller Stimm und Zungen
 Gar froehlich lassen singen.—
 Der Sommer ist hart vor der Tuer,
 Der Winter ist vergangen,
 Die zarten Bluemlein gehn herfuer:
 Der hat das angefangen,
 Der wird es wohl vollenden."

What could the old Church, in the tumult of those days, oppose to such resistless enthusiasm? It was not the worst of her sons who turned away from her with shame and horror. When the Augustinians joined their greatest colleague in crowds, it stirred perceptibly in the other orders. Among the Franciscans strode to the front the previously mentioned Johann Eberlin, the passionate Henry von Kattenbach, both in Ulm; Johannes Briesmann in Cottbus; Konrad Pellicanus in Basel; Frederick Myconius (Mecum) in Weimar; Stephen Kempe, the reformer of Hamburg; Henry Never in Wismar, and others.

From the Dominican order came Martin Butzer who, in 1518, powerfully attracted by Luther's personality, changed his monastery into an asylum in Ebernburg castle, and yet had himself absolved in 1521 from his monastic vow, through a papal dispensation and an ecclesiastical court procedure, and legitimized in the profession of a world preacher. In the following year we find him again with Sick-

ingen as a preacher in Landstuhl, and married to a nun who had recanted her vows. A Dominican preacher in Nürnberg, Gallus Korn, denounced the monastic vow. The young Carthusian, Otto Brunfels, was protected by Hutten when he fled from his monastery. The lecturer Ambrosius Blarer was forced to resign from the Benedictines at Alpirsbach, although he asked for his right of a higher appeal for the defense of his Lutheran opinions. Johannes Oekolampadius (Hussgen or Heussgen from Weinsberg), the linguistic assistant of Erasmus who, in spite of this relation and his sincere admiration for Luther, had taken the cowl in the Brigitta Monastery of Altenmuenster in 1520, failed to find the imagined ideal of a monastically secluded and yet evangelistical free life. Him we meet shortly after his resignation in 1522, at Ebernburg castle, where he first ventured, as a chaplain, to employ the German language in the celebration of mass.

In Augsburg, the Carmelite monastery, the prior of which, Johannes Frosch, was one of Luther's friends, formed a meeting place for those with reformatory sentiments. The prebendary Urbanus Rhegius, formerly pupil and admirer of Eck, associated with the brothers. Thus the Pomeranian Johannes Bugenhagen had experienced a great change, not merely as a monk, but in a most intimate connection with a monastery and as a school rector

with the remonstrants of Treptow. When he first took up the book of the Babylonian captivity, he expressed his abomination of the corruptest heretic who had appeared since Christ's passion. When he had read it through, he declared without reserve that the whole world was lost in darkness, and Luther was the only man with eyes among the blind.

For the most part these apostles were young men, in the twenties and thirties, who hastened to join the movement, but besides them were many older ones, like Johann Eberlin or Caspar Guettel. The latter was by no means persuaded as a minor, through distressing circumstances or the wish of the family, to enter a monastery, but did so at the age of forty-three, with the declared intention of securing peace for his restless conscience through the "vocation of perfection." Tenderly constituted minds had gone through the same experience as Luther. Disgust with the warring world and longing for God caused the juvenile Frederick Myconius to seek the monks, where he struggled honestly but vainly, and became very uncomfortable to his brothers with his views of predestination. However, after Luther's appearance he believed he had found the true meaning of a strange dream, which came to him on the first night of his monastic life. He was promised release from a desolate desert, and a blissful immersion in the source of salvation.

It must be borne in mind that the close touch with

Humanism exerted an exceedingly powerful influence, in which met almost the entire new generation of mentally active ecclesiastics; men like Capito, Urbanus Rhegius, Butzer, Oekolampadius, Zwingli and Eberlin were friends of Erasmus, whom even the Augustinian Guettel praised, as late as 1522, as the true originator of the Reformation. As the great majority of these preliminary agitators of the Church movement hailed from the middle class circles, so the new teaching found its first real home in the towns where Humanism had its birth. There was no considerable adherence among the sovereign princes at the beginning. We have seen how these basic changes were instituted in Saxony against the pronounced, but not victorious will of the sovereign. Frederick's brother, Duke Johann, and his son Johann Frederick were decidedly on Luther's side from the beginning. A little Silesian prince, Duke Charles of Münsterberg, as early as 1522 entered into correspondence with the Reformer, whose doctrine of the Holy Communion gave particular satisfaction to him as a grandchild of the Hussite King Podiebrad who was cursed down to the fourth generation. But he added the request that Luther should not make any further use of his name.

The ecclesiastic princes were the natural opponents of a movement which carried with it as a necessary consequence a weakening of their authority. The only way out of this embarrassment would

have been offered in case they joined in, by the secularization of their chapters, that is, by an open breach, not only with the Church but with the charter of the empire. To such a decision none of them would come for the time although the grand-master of the German Order, Albert of Brandenburg, began his attachment to Luther in 1523, and had been recommended the conversion of the Order-State into a hereditary principality, without making any objections to it. The same intention was believed for years to be in the mind of his relative, the Mainz prince-elect. Guettel ventured in 1523 to dedicate his Lenten sermons to the primate of Germany, and in 1524 the ambiguous ecclesiastical prince assured Duke Johann of Saxony that he wished Martin Luther, who preached and wrote the truth, well in his heart. To such an inward inclination to evangelism one thought could be attributed, with greater justification, the action of the Augsburg bishop Christoph von Stadion, but this mildly disposed Erasmian who was said to have once declared the Lutheran as morally superior, could adjust another string. He kept in hard imprisonment the first Lutheran preacher in the chapter, Kaspar Aquila, who had taken unto himself a wife, and released him only reluctantly on the request of the queen of Denmark. Bishop Johann (Thurzo) of Breslau was an Erasmian in whom Luther placed great hopes, but he died when one

of his prebendaries was on the way to bring him letters of Luther and Melanchthon.

Of all the bishops, only one went beyond a very modest degree of sympathy, Georg Polenz, who began in 1523 to evangelize his diocese by the appointment of reformatory preachers. But Lutheran sympathies made themselves perceptible in many cathedral chapters, like Würzburg and Bamberg. We shall speak later on of the peculiar attitude of the South German nobility to the Reformation.

In quite a different way from the highest circles of the nation the German middle classes embraced the Lutheran cause. It was behind the walls of the empire cities that the higher mental life of the nation found the freest scope. If this town culture had supplied on one hand an indispensable foundation for the deteriorated churchdom of the later Middle Ages, the great movement against the hierarchy and its system, on the other hand, found well prepared soil awaiting it. Without cessation the conflicts raged in the towns between the ecclesiastical and the worldly right, between the civic financial policy and the clerical claims of exemption,—struggles which became yet more accentuated when the council and community were under the sovereignty of an ecclesiastical prince, or at least had a bishop and chapter within their jurisdiction. Nowhere did one meet more flagrant Church corruption than here,

and it is small wonder that examples were reported from good, middle class circles of an unconquerable hatred against the clergy, for instance, of Capito's father, the Hagenau blacksmith Koepfel, or of the father of Myconius, who tried in vain to set his son against the traffic in indulgences as a speculation of the parsons upon the money of the gullible laymen. We have referred to the sharp and unrestrained discussion of the ecclesiastical mismanagement in the song of the citizen singers, in the carnival play, and in the pulpit sermons of the popular preachers. By the side of this the constant growth of Waldensic-Hussitic conceptions was evident. Capito tells us that in some territories he heard many men speak Hussitic, without at that time being able to understand it. Wimpheling and Pirkheimer also referred to the growing heresy in Bohemia. On the estate of a Rostock clergyman, Nikolaus Rutze, who had associations with the Bohemian brothers, Hussitic writings were found.

And now Luther appeared, himself grown out of the middle classes, so that what he said and wrote was familiar to the educated townsmen, in that it reminded them of former impressions and well-known sentiments, and yet through a language which with compelling force and clearness seemed to draw every listener's or reader's own thoughts from his inmost heart and cast them into a

firm mold. It was no longer necessary to familiarize oneself laboriously with the strange world of thought of ancient times, for which the Humanists created such a zealous propaganda. We observe the contrast very distinctly when we compare the pedantic treatment of antique subjects with Hans Sachs' "Wittenberg Nightingale," written in 1523. Here the excellent shoemaker and mastersinger felt himself far more at home than amongst the figures of the "Greek wise Herodotus," or of Ovid. The simple, delightful picture of the lovely nightingale which announces the dawning day, the sun peeping through the gloomy clouds and paling the moon, whose false glare had lured the sheep into the wilderness:—he drew these scenes with a clearness which left nothing to conjecture, but he did so with a sacred zeal which stamped him, the plain artisan, as a collaborator of Doctor Martin, who was glorified by him. With great care and circumspection the correct conception of Luther's vindication doctrine was, one could almost say, preached. It came from his heart when he praised the persuasive Scripture-like argument of the Reformer:

"Das ein Bauer merken moecht,
Dass Luther's Lehre gut und recht."

It was in Nürnberg that the reception of the Reformation was consummated in exemplary order,

step by step; only after the new teaching had fully won almost the whole population, followed the public recognition and fixation of the altered conditions by the council.

We know the beginnings of the Nürnberg "Martinians" and the year 1521 found the ecclesiastical affairs of the town essentially in their hands. The champions included the Augustinian monastery, the prior Volprecht, with the Benedictines, the abbot Pistorius, both adherents of Luther; the priors of St. Lorenz and St. Sebald; two quondam Wittenberg students, Hektor Poemer and Georg Besler; and, as teacher of Hebrew with the Augustinians, a gifted young priest from Gunzenhausen, Andreas Osiander, whose theological sagacity and self-will were soon to shine in the fight against the Roman "Antichrist." Pirkheimer, who had not forgotten his humiliation through Eck, counted still as a vigorous ally and sympathizer. By the side of these, the lesser people of the lay world became bolder with their conviction. It was a sign of the times that, besides the "Nightingale" of Hans Sachs, veritable controversies emanated from the pen of uneducated citizens; that a painter named Greiffenberger, a cloth maker, and a blanket manufacturer ventured into the literary arena; while Hans Sachs, who down to 1522 brought into his possession no less than forty booklets of Luther, had written prosaic dialogues and justified the inter-

vention of the laity with the deficient scriptural knowledge of the clergy.

In Nürnberg and several South German towns, Kettenbach dared to assert, not wholly without reason, that there the women, servants, artisans and knights knew more of the Bible than the high schools elsewhere. Albert Dürer began in those troublous days to express in his way what was stirring within him. In his mighty figures of the apostles the hitherto chief one, Peter, is placed behind John and Paul, the latter as the guardian of the evangelism and true "Knight of Christ." With his reproachful look, he holds the eye of the onlooker spellbound, and embodies a new world of religious sentiment.

Stormier than in Nürnberg were the waves of the ecclesiastical revolution in Suabia, where Eberlin von Guenzburg, for a time a partisan of Carlstadt, exercised the greatest influence. In those times, when Heaven was made of steel and the earth of iron, one had to trust to the New Testament as the only reliable sword, regardless of Luther, Carlstadt or Melancthon. Thus the preacher exclaimed to the Augsburg people: "Rather suffer the lack of food and clothing than of the New Testament. Do not rely upon temple schools or cloisters; be your own home priest with the Bible in your hand, and do not fear derision."

Literary laymen arose in Augsburg with epistles

in favor of the evangelism and against the diabolical and Jewish convent life. The counter movements on the part of the old Church only led to renewed efforts of the evangelists, which the council did not dare to oppose seriously. Peutingner himself, a man of order and favoring mediation, was behind the reformation of the poor relief of 1522 which created, after Paul's precept, an official department for the care of the poor, and the scheme bordered almost upon communism. Oekolampadius wrote in those days, that we are obliged to relieve poverty, whether self-caused or blameless, and not alone with our abundance but with all that we possess. The new movement turned against prostitution; the women of the street were led into the church for reform, and also gave up their ignominious trade themselves. Less edifying were the scandals which were enacted through mutual challenges of the old and new believers in the churches. It sometimes happened that a baker's assistant took a monk preacher to task, or a bishop's servant who laughed at the evangelic prayer had to listen to the most scurrilous charges against his master. "It is a huffy people here," said a report of 1519, "they talk freely and would not allow anything to be argued with them." The Swiss inclinations which were imputed to them transferred themselves to the religious domain and led in 1523 to threatening gatherings. The Ulm council which, in its neutral

attitude, ordered their clergymen in 1522 not to preach anything objectionable, but the Holy Scriptures, was not able to gain the upper hand in the movement supported by Eberlin Kettenbach and Jost Hoeflich, in spite of several repressive measures. As the churches were locked against him, Hoeflich erected his pulpit in the open air, as was done in Goslar, Worms, Arnstadt, Danzig, Hall im Muntal, etc. While in the Württemberg country, the numerous evangelistic preachers like Mantel, Schnepf and Sam, could not hold out against the Austrian government, in the small Suabian empire cities, on the other hand, the Reformation found favorable territory. In Hall strove the noble Johannes Brenz, and in Noerdlingen his friend Theobald Billicanus (Gerlach aus Billigheim); both won for Luther, as Martin Butzer did. It was the same with Matthaeus Alber in Reutlingen with the fervent Michael Styfel in Esslingen for a time; in Wimpfen with Erhard Schnepf, formerly a member of the Erfurt Humanistic circle; and in Heilbroun with Johannes Lachmann.

The influence of the great Swiss Zwingli was working in Upper Suabia. He was independent from Wittenberg, like the enthusiastic Erasman Hummelberg, who preached in his native town of Ravensburg and cultivated his old Humanistic inclinations. A friend of Zwingli, Christoph Schappler of St. Gall, began in 1523 his energetic and

successful activity in Memmingen. At Constance, in 1521, the citizens prevented the publication of the Worms edict and forced the imperial commissioner with threats to leave. Here at first Johannes Wanner, and afterwards the ex-monk Blarer, took over the clerical leadership. The powerful inclination for the Reformation which showed itself in the population of Strasburg, became exceptionally important. There, in 1518, Luther's Theses were nailed on the doors of the churches and the homes of the parsons. Peter Wickgram, the nephew and successor of the great preacher Geiler, was in spite of all precautions suspected of being a Lutheran, and another Kaisersberger, Matthaeus Zell, since the pulpit of Geiler was refused to him as a heretic, had a portable pulpit brought by the carpenters into the cathedral as often as he wanted to preach. Even the fracturing of the big cathedral bell at the Christmas tolling, which was shouted out by the old churchmen as a heavenly sign against the innovators, did not avail. The council exercised the censorship as mildly as possible, condemned the abusive writings of the embittered Murner to the fire, and admonished Zell, who was prosecuted by the bishop, to preach the divine Word and the Holy Scriptures bravely and without fear, in which course he would be protected (1523).

Shortly after this the two men under whose names the Reformation was to gain full victory

entered Strasburg. They were Capito, who had become tired of his Mainz court service as prior of St. Thomas, and the ex-monk Butzer, a newly married predicant who had just been deported from Weissenburg.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF FANATICISM

LET us remember that, in the year 1523, the Zürich reformation was already an accomplished fact. Such a rapid and homogeneous conquest as in the Suabian-Alemannian territories the new teaching was not to enjoy anywhere else. The places in which it emerged, in Central and North Germany, did not by any means lie close together, and in truth seemed often to skip over wide areas. All the more energetically the Lower Saxon spirit manifested itself here and there. The papal vicar Hermann Tast was brought by armed members of the audience to preach his sermons under the big cemetery lime tree of Husum and accompanied home by them. The Bremer, who in spite of all imputations of their archbishop retained the heretical monk Henry von Zuetphen as preacher, fortified their walls by the construction of two castles, the "bride" and the "bridegroom," and destroyed, supposedly for purely military reasons, the Benedictine monastery outside the town. A commission chosen from the citizens started with

the reorganization of church matters in the evangelistic sense and several especially obstreperous friars had to leave the place. Henry von Zuetphen, however, when he went to the Ditmarschen suffered a terrible death at the hands of these "Moenkesmoekers" (monk smokers), as they were afterwards called. Seized from his bed in the night and clad only in his shirt, he was tied to the tail of a horse and dragged over the frozen ground until his feet bled and he was unable to proceed any further. Abused, beaten, and spit upon he clung to his faith and love for his enemies even then, after he had to look on for hours, bleeding from twenty wounds, while his tormentors tried in vain to light the pyre in the snow and rain. When it finally started burning, the bestial blood-lust of the monsters had grown so impatient that they could not wait for the effect of the fire and beat their victim so long as he gave any sign of life. "Go ahead, dear brothers," one of them shouted during the brutal treatment, "here God is present." (December, 1524).

It would be unjust to deny that similar outbursts of unrestrainable fanaticism occurred on the evangelical side. A monk of the old creed who thundered from the pulpit at Stralsund in October, 1524, against the evangelists as the "horde of Korah," was pulled down with poles and beaten with benches and chairs, and stabbed with knives so that he "bled like a stuck

pig." Then he was dragged out upon the market square and only by the greatest efforts did several citizens tear him away from the crowd which kept pummeling him unmercifully. Previous to this a few Dominicans were seized from the pulpit and maltreated; the female hearers hurled their slippers and chairs at the head of one of them during the sermon, and the leader of the viragos, Bandelwitz, scoffed at by the Catholic opponents as "des deuvels achterledder" (the devil's back ladder, or stairs), herself assaulted a chaplain outside the church "who could not hear the truth," not only with abusive epithets, but also by throwing stones and dirt at him. We still possess some of those gutter songs with which, in those days, evangelists and Catholics abused one another in this politically fermenting community. There was no lack of symbolic processions in which the innovators presented the contrast between Christ and the pope, and the monks showed the imminent doom of the God-forsaken town.

Far less virulent were the first stirrings in favor of the new teaching in Hamburg where, after a few slight preliminaries, the Rostock Franciscan Kempe had preached the evangelism since 1523. The guardian left him in the monastery as a number of citizens threatened that otherwise the bags of the monks would be returned empty, for "it is we who are feeding you."

In Danzig a friar, the Dominican Jakob Finkenblock, was the first agitator for the Reformation. For some time he could only preach outside the town, and afterwards in a cemetery.

The connections between Wittenberg and Breslau, where the council, in concert with the cathedral chapter, had tried to defend themselves against the abuse of the indulgence traffic, were early and successful. When they complained about the Bernhardines, they received from their own general the reply that they should, in case there were too many monks in Breslau, not give them any more to eat. The successor of Bishop Thurzo, Jakob von Salza, indulged in Humanistic reform ideas, so that the council could present to him, in 1523, a pronounced adherent of Luther in the person of the Nürnburger Johannes Hess, as parson, with the open confession that they had chosen this shepherd by virtue of their authority as Christians and solely after the divine rights of the apostolic teaching and example. The bishop was ready for the investiture of the "heretic," but as his chapter refused its consent, the council carried out the installation without ecclesiastical assistance.

With calmness and fortitude the municipal government claimed, from the very beginning, the prerogative "As we build the parish churches and schools ourselves," to select the parsons and teachers themselves, after the sole direction of the evangel-



Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse.
Woodcut by Hans Brosamer.



ism. But the Breslau town council were not afraid to act as they saw fit with the church possessions, against the wishes of the representatives of the Reformation appointed by them. This, perhaps, was the earliest example of a consequential church policy of a new creed. The principle had been repeatedly declared, as for instance, when Carlstadt ascribed to the authorities the power to mend ecclesiastical deficiencies. Henry von Zuetphen, according to the report of his opponents, is said to have preached in Bremen that all clergymen should be under the jurisdiction of the council.

Almost everywhere the clerical authorities saw how such efforts joined themselves involuntarily with the progress of the new teaching. In Erfurt, the old endeavor to defend against the sovereignty, claimed by the Mainz archbishops, gave a mighty impetus to the cause of evangelism. Since 1516, the town had been in a protective alliance with electoral Saxony and the council worked, together with the excited community, for the overthrow of the "papist" machine. At the beginning of 1523, eight churches were given over to the evangelistic divine service, under the protection of the authorities. The old churchmen were obliged, through fear of the mob, to celebrate mass behind locked doors and pay considerable money to the council for mere tolerance. In Halberstadt where Melchior Miritz, an Augustinian who had escaped from the Nether-

lands, established himself in 1522, the movement was favored by the burgomasters, though the Halberstadt mayor was nearly beheaded while an evangelistically inclined Carmelite provincial, Mustaeus, who was living there, was attacked at the instigation of the consecration bishop and unsexed. Still the prosecution had not as yet organized itself into a solid and self-contained whole. Even in the Bavarian and Austrian countries, where the governments opposed the innovation most sharply, it raised its head here and there. When the young magister Arsacius Seehofer was sentenced by the University of Ingolstadt to the revocation of the Lutheran doctrine of vindication, and to imprisonment in the monastery of Ettal, an evangelical lady came to his assistance. She was Argula von Staufen, wife of the ducal physician Frederick von Grumbach who as a ten-year-old girl, long before Luther's appearance, had read the German Bible and endeavored, by dint of her scriptural knowledge, to teach the Ingolstadt professors a better understanding. Besides this, she addressed a number of letters to the councils of Ingolstadt and Regensburg, to Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria and to the prince-elect of Saxony. In her expert biblical knowledge, she felt justified in repudiating from the beginning all the objections of a good-for-nothing philosophy of an irrelevant juristic jugglery, and an undivine

theology. She also directed an exhortative epistle to Luther because of his persistence in celibacy.

Argula's example was not an isolated one. A year later, Ursula Weydin, at Eisenberg, caused an evangelistic controversy to appear over a book written by Simon von Pegau, and the wife of the Strasburg preacher Zell composed a solatium for her "fellow sisters," who were driven from Kensingen. The fanatical Ingolstadt professor Hauer complained bitterly about the conspicuous sympathies for Luther's teaching of the "heretical bitches and desperate hussies" in many towns. In the Hussitic movement women mounted the pulpit, seized the pen, and even took the consecrated bread and wine for the Holy Communion themselves. Such an intervention and encroachment on the part of the other sex cannot be wondered at in religiously excited times. The preacher Zell declared in Strasburg, "the whole of humanity are parsons, even the women."

These repressive measures developed in Bavaria as well as in Austria the sublime courage of suffering death by individual confessors of the faith. The same was true of an unknown monk in Rottenburg who, under the most terrible tortures, remained true to his Lutheran creed. We recognize the tremendous effect which could be produced by only a passing activity of gifted preachers. Thus Jakob Strauss of Basel, at Hall im Muntal in 1522, so

inspired the multitude that they carried his preaching chair into the open in fair weather. When he had to go, Urbanus Rhegius took his place.

Not only in North Tyrol did matters begin to stir,—in all the cells of the Cistercian monastery of Stams, Lutheran books were found,—but in the South, Canon of Innichen spread Lutheran articles; and a tailor preached in an open square in Brixen. But few labored within a short space of time in so many places separated by long distances as Paulus Speratus (Spretter from Rottweil?). He caused a great sensation as a preacher, in Würzburg, Salzburg and Vienna. In the last place he was permitted, in January, 1522, with the consent of Bishop Slatkonja, to mount the pulpit at St. Stephan and with all formality declare war on the monastic vows. Driven out of Vienna by the theological faculty and denounced as a heretic in Hungary, where he was called to preach, he was accepted as pastor by an unsuspecting Dominican abbey at Iglau. But the deception did not last long with the monks and the rapidly enthused community, and after hard imprisonment he departed, in 1523, from the town which was intimidated by the opponents, to become active in literary matters at Wittenberg. After that, in 1524, he accepted a call to Königsberg, but only with the consent received from his Moravian community. Into the far away Livonia,

a refugee had carried the germ of an evangelistic movement. He was Andreas Knoepken who, in 1521, having been driven out of Pomerania, found a welcome reception with the Riga citizens, and a favorable mood in the grandmaster Walter von Plettenberg. In 1523, Luther addressed an open letter to the "dear chosen friends of God, all Christians in Riga, Reval and Dorpat." The preacher Tegetmeier in Riga, and the fanatical furrier Melchior Hoffmann in Dorpat, knew how to conjure up the spirit of iconoclasm. An imperial edict, to leave everything in the old Church order was of no avail; the captain of the castle of Riga sent the citizens a whip, which they were to use against the parsons if they wanted peace.

The final consequences of the accepted tendency were sure to amaze and horrify the leaders themselves, as is the case with every great upheaval. The most interesting phenomenon was the continuation of the old habit which one boasts to have abandoned. How could human beings be able to change so radically at a stroke of the magic wand, as it were? The savagery of the old Germanic period, in spite of a sharp and systematic discipline of the Roman Church, remained alive for centuries. We see further, a great part of the medieval conception of the world and of the monkish fanaticism outlast the Reformation, nor should we be surprised if their own representatives carried ineradicable traces

among themselves of the ecclesiastical tyranny which they fought so fiercely.

With brutal power the ruling Church endeavored to crush every dissentient opinion. It was natural and excusable that now the movement which was about to proceed did not always handle the stubborn defenders of the old conditions with kid gloves. If, in Nürnberg, the nuns of St. Clara were, at the instigation of the council, forced into the Lutheran churches, abused and threatened by the mob, if three of them were literally dragged from the convent by their people, against their will, then these were certainly most regrettable occurrences. Ultramontane historians, however, who cannot do enough in the reproduction of these dreadful scenes and in sympathy for the poor victims, should answer the very obvious question, if such "acts of brutality of the adherents of the new creed against the Catholics" were worth speaking of by the side of the cruelties of the heresy processes. Some pushes and ear-boxing inflicted upon the Nürnberg nuns of St. Clara could stand no comparison with the mutilation of Mustaeus and the atrocities perpetrated upon Henry von Zuetphen. There was almost a touch of grim humor when the prioress, Charitas Pirkheimer, became highly indignant "that they wanted to induce us with force to adopt another creed which is not of our heart."

This was the old ecclesiastical habit, which natu-

rally was still deeply rooted in the votaries of the new creed. In the wild abuses and cynicisms of many predicants the former friars can be recognized in their modern attire. Nothing was more typical than the story of that monk in Erfurt who advised his evangelist hearers to make the sign of the cross at the mere mentioning of the Catholic Church, "like at the mentioning of the evil enemy." However, it cannot be said that among the predicants there had been a lack of self-knowledge and self-criticism among the predicants. "Donkeys in the lion's skin," the upright Eberlin called such unworthy and vain pulpit preachers who, according to the expression of an Erfurt companion in office, "prate much and babble, without all earnestness and trepidation, of the word of God."

The overloading of the speech and writing with biblical terms and quotations, the inconsiderate use of the scriptural proof, whether it would fit or not, may sometimes have justified the criticism of a Catholic Erfurt Humanist, who reproached his opponents that, having St. Paul always on their lips, they were "like a big roaring ox with a young nightingale." It can be imagined that such examples had no good effect upon the lay world, which was called upon to give its own judgment and had become bewildered in existing matters. When Eberlin came to the Erfurters, who preached everywhere, in the market place and in the beerhouses, many were sur-

prised because he taught that to be a Christian required more than to abuse parsons, to eat meat, to abstain from sacrifice and not confess. In the same way, Hans Sachs flaunted before those who called themselves Lutherans, "their meat-eating talk, parson abuses, quarreling, sneering, contempt, and all immoral behavior."

New freedom will never enter life at once with full self-control and self-discipline, especially so long as it has to struggle for its existence. Consequently the question was to remove the oppressing power of an extremely privileged social class. Such movements, if they were not stillborn, carried away the masses and thus assumed a more or less democratic character. Humanism had indulged in the dream that it could easily reform the Church in the Erasmic style and, with the help of a modernized papacy and episcopacy, make a reality of its Christian-antique culture of the future. Instead of that, it had paved the way for a momentous commotion whose wild convulsions, it seemed, must result in an overthrow, not only of the hierarchical order, but of the wonderful edifice of antique wisdom and beauty which had just risen from the débris. The people who had tried to enlighten the Humanists concerning the parsonic incubus weighing upon them, used the teaching which they received with such literalness that it caused many a learned and fair-spirited agitator to shudder.

Humanism had intended to absorb the religious with aristocratic glamor and superficiality; to the heart of the people it had always remained foreign. "The Lutheran preachers," said Strauss, "were no Erasmi, but they solved a task which no Erasmus could solve." In the eyes of many Humanists, the old enemies almost thought to be dead, the "stinking cowls," now suddenly renewed their furious attacks as apostles of the evangelism against all higher mental life. Eoban Hesse, who survived with a bleeding heart the decay of the Erfurt University, already saw all science trampled under the merciless attacks of the predicants. Melancthon found the lamentations of his friend only too true. In one of his writings of 1524 he said: "Preachers who warn the youths against the studies should have their tongues cut out." But on account of his discontent with the new order of things, Eobanus was denounced in Wittenberg by the preacher Lang, whom he knew well, as a traitor to the evangelism and a secret ally of the "sophists." Truly typical of the sad fate of German Humanism was the passing of Mutian. The aged canonist, whose income was cut down in the beginning of the ecclesiastical movement, sank into abject penury because of the Gotha parson riots of 1524 and the Peasants' War, until death came, in 1526, as the only solace to the forlorn, penniless and sick man. Mourning pupils and admirers intoned their poetical

lamentations in which the departed, besides pointing to his immortal fame, was praised and pronounced happy because God had spared him the sight of the impending misery. How rapidly had changed the century in which the spirits awakened and in which it had been a pleasure to live! The majority of the German universities, in the South as well as the North, became the victims of an appalling desolation. In Erfurt the number of matriculations between the years 1520 and 1526 dropped from 312 to 14, and in Heidelberg the senate complained, in 1526, that there were more professors than students. From Rostock, Frankfort, Leipzig, Cologne, Basel, Freiburg, Vienna and everywhere, one heard bitter laments of retrogression. In Freiburg the famous jurist Zasius, unsurpassed in his science, had only six hearers and they were all Frenchmen.

The fight which was originally undertaken against the scholastic-dialectic had not stopped with the rejection of the "blind mischievous pagan Aristotle," but had changed with many of the new preachers into a heretical perversion of all human wisdom; they now thundered against reason, which was not the spirit of God, but the most zealous adversary of Him, whereas Luther, in his former writings and in his famous Worms conclusion, had accepted reason besides the proof of the Bible.

But it must also be said that Luther's writing

against the heavenly prophets (1525) brought those passionate sallies against "Mrs. Hulda, the natural reason, which is invoked by dreamers like Carlstadt, and by the mob for the decision of questions concerning the creed. Just as though we did not know that reason is the devil's whore and knows nothing but to blaspheme and desecrate all that God says and does."

Luther, with all his loud indignation over the scholastic followers of Aristotle, had by no means thrown the entire system overboard, and so we meet in his hard ejection of reason from the domain of religion, the old optimistic segregation of faith and wisdom, only that the Reformer, as Ritschl correctly declared, was far removed from the coolly calculating nominalism, and opposed reason with the whole fire of his temperament as an impudent intruder and personal enemy. At all events, the connection of this typical Lutheran critic of reason with scholastics is very obvious; nothing could be more foreign and hostile to Humanism and its patronizing religious philosophy, according to whose perception the human soul raises itself up to God with its two wings,—recognition and love. Reason, the devil's bride, all human wisdom, foolishness, the virtues of the ancient, glorious vices,—to such an admission those education-proud spirits were to bow, they who spoke of the divine inspiration of a Homer, a Plato, and a Christendom before Christ.

That Luther in his condemnation always had before his mental eye the old Church wisdom only, could certainly not prevent his smaller emulators from extending this judgment to the horror of a Melancthon, to all studies not purely biblical. Such people, as the Swiss Humanist Glareanus declared, shouted that Latin and Greek were superfluous and one only needed to know German and Hebrew.

Thus it came about that, before the middle of the second decade, an estrangement arose between the strict Humanistic elements and the jubilantly welcomed Reformation. It was, as one expressed it, the decay of the studies and the morals, the recrudescence of barbarism or, to speak in our language, it was the forth-breaking revolutionary character of the Church movement which not only drove into the opposing camp a Wimpheling and a Zasius, but also men like Mutian, Crotus Rubeanus and finally even Pirkheimer. Mutian forgot his pantheistic cryptic doctrines, Crotus his anti-clerical gibes, and both their enthusiasm for the "Wittenberg morning star" and the "New Paul," finally to seek a foothold in the formerly ridiculed Church from the storm and stress of the times. Pirkheimer, a far more self-dependent nature, had never inwardly returned to the old creed, and did not use it as a weapon against his own distressed conscience, but against the enemies of Humanism. The religious need was as weakly developed in him as in

Erasmus, whom he tried to restrain in 1524 from a polemic against Luther.

Even in those days Luther's work was, as it had always been, a necessity to him, candidly as he admitted the deficiencies of the same; "in order to check such violent derangements such strong counter-means were required." In his opinion, only the most serious harm could result for the cause of science and truth from a literary feud between Erasmus and Luther. Pirkheimer came too late with his warning; Erasmus had just opened the hostilities to which he had been urged for years.

I need not here trace back to the deeper lying reasons which made Luther's personality and work appear uncanny to Erasmus from the very beginning; the contrast between the two natures was a fundamental one, and hardly touched by the measured and cool relations into which they had entered for a time. In spite of this Erasmus knew how to postpone the open breach with Luther, imputed to him for several years. Repulsive as the "tumult" aroused in the name of the evangelism was to him, he feared, on the other hand, to take sides formally with the party of his old deadly enemies,—the monks and scholastics,—and to place the power of his word at the disposal of a hierarchy whose adopted "cures" were, "revocation, dungeon and pyre." This inspired in him hardly less abhorrence than the disquieting agitation of the evangelistic

predicants and their "diabolical" adherents. He was unable to comprehend why an understanding should be impossible; the disputants only needed to moderate their passions and pursue the aim common to all good men, the welfare of Christendom, without force and precipitation, since all were unanimous in the chief articles, and the cause of the quarrel was only partly incomprehensible, partly unessential paradoxes.

His favorite idea was to obtain an amicable sentiment through an enlightenment of the learned men, the results of which were to be communicated in confidential letters to the highest authorities,—the pope and the emperor.

This idea, which Strauss not wrongly qualified as childish, was as unrealizable as the wish of Erasmus to maintain his neutral attitude. Much as neutrality suited his real sentiment and justifiable as his aversion to choose between two parties may appear, neither could suffice for the sharp eye of the skeptic. It could not happen otherwise than that Erasmus was soon regarded from all sides with the utmost distrust, and overwhelmed with the demand that he should show his colors, especially as his precarious position had really led him into unpleasant ambiguities. In May, 1520, he had complained to his faithful Rhenanus: "The Lutheran tragedy has been inflamed to such a quarrel that it is neither safe to talk nor to be silent." During the

Worms parliament he admitted in a letter to Justus Jonas, that had he been able to predict the times, he would have written many things differently or not at all.

More serious than the urgings and scoldings of the Lutherans were the rantings of the fanatical monks who formerly drove him from Loewen. This fact must have alarmed him, for gradually suspicion appeared at the papal court. Alexander received the order to sound him with all precaution and consideration, and to induce him to come to the open support of the Church cause; but, said the nuncio, one could as well insinuate to the "suspicious friend" that he write against himself.

But Erasmus, while the same request was made to him by Henry VIII and Wolsey, and on the imperial side by the Catholic reformer Georg of Saxony, saw more and more clearly that a continued refusal would be an affront to his highest patrons and protectors, and would afford a welcome foothold for the unrelenting accusations of his numerous enemies. On the other hand, the evangelists did not restrain their disapproval. If Luther uttered his contempt for the course of Erasmus, and denied the philologist all competence in theological matters, a young French agitator, Wilhelm Barel, dared to create in Basel the nickname Bileam for the great Humanist, in which was couched the allusion that

Erasmus had been won by papal gold to curse the people of the Lord.

The ugly strife and literary feud with Hutten, to which we shall refer later, placed the character of the "prince of science" and his attitude towards the Reformation in the worst light possible. In his letter to the Netherlander Laurinus (February 1, 1523), Erasmus had explained, with the witty sarcasm of which he was capable, that he had rid himself of the Lutheran business out of pure modesty.

Since he had been considered by many distinguished heads to be the originator of Luther's teaching and author of various Lutheran writings, he could not accept such a high honor, but must exclaim, with John the Baptist: "It is not I." For he was, according to the judgment of the Lutherans, devoid of all understanding in ecclesiastical matters, and he left them with pleasure to dance among the prophets when the spirit of the Lord was wafting around them. For the present, he had not been moved by the spirit. The polite threat was not lacking that he, like the whole world, would give his verdict about Luther, yielding to the command of such as it was dangerous to antagonize.

The much discussed duel between Odysseus and Aias, as Zwingli once expressed himself, was not averted by the letter which Luther addressed in the spring of the year 1524 to his opponent. For in it

the Reformer developed his opinion about Erasmus with such an offensive candor that the latter could only be strengthened in his work, which was already under full sway. Luther regretted from his heart that Christ was witness of the many attacks against the intellectual scientist, who only ought to keep within the limits of the beautiful gift bestowed upon him by God. His former sallies against the evangelists Luther had not taken in bad part; he had never even desired an open attachment of Erasmus to their cause, "for we see that the Lord has given you neither courage nor understanding enough to undertake with us the fight against those monsters, and we should certainly not expect anything from you that would surpass your power and limit."

Nothing could strike the spoiled man harder than this tone of superiority. In September, 1524, his treatise on free-will appeared. The choice of the subject was very skillful, in that it did not force the Humanist to a defense of a dogma to which he was either indifferent or which did not antagonize him; but, on the contrary, it offered him an opportunity to come forward, both for the Church doctrine and for a fundamental conception of the Platonizing Renaissance philosophy.

For how could enthusiastic apostles of mankind, whose natural nobility carried, according to their opinion, the germ of all the great and beautiful in them, have paid homage to the pessimistic senti-

ments of determinism? Such differently constituted representatives of Humanism, like Lorenzo Valla, Pico di Mirandola, and Pontaro, had taken up the pen for the glory and defense of the liberty of the human will. Now Erasmus advocated the same cause, but in his own way, and without the enthusing fire of a Pico; on the contrary, his inclination toward skepticism and his aversion against binding definitions were very conspicuous, and if he did not wish wholly to deny the dependence of the human will upon divine mercy, he helped himself out of the embarrassment by being compelled to choose between various "probable" opinions, with the declaration that a too penetrating investigation of such mysteries was irreligious, curious and superfluous.

One observes throughout the whole matter that Erasmus, as he said himself, had not changed of his own accord from a priest of the Muses to a "gladiator," and that he had been crowded into the arena by others. "*Jacta est alea*," he sighed, in his letter to Bishop Tunstall of London, who had been one of the most zealous drivers. From the mouth of an Erasmus who still always declared his great Wittenberg opponent a necessary evil, this watchword of the desperately determined Hutten sounded like a groan instead of a war cry.

Luther did not feel himself seriously concerned, although he admitted to Erasmus that he alone of

his adversaries had seized upon the cardinal point of the quarrel, and "aimed at his throat." But he reluctantly began his replica, which was finished in December, 1525, with hesitation and not, as he assured in the introduction, from veneration or fear of Erasmus, but "simply from disgust, indignation and contempt" for the contradictory and vacillating demeanor of this Proteus nature. Erasmus had once declared in his letters that it was a great blasphemy to draw the medium between Christ and Belial, but prudent to steer through between Scylla and Charybdis. This worldly-wise veering applied to the most sublime questions of religion revolted Luther's inmost soul. He instinctively recognized in the great Humanist the pioneer of an intellectual tendency which must inevitably lead to religious indifference.

He saw in his opponent a Lucian, an Epicurean, and a surreptitious atheist,—in short, a personification of paganism revived in the Renaissance, and which, as he once said, arrogated to itself the right to measure all things with its own measure and ridicule everything that was incomprehensible. This feeling of superiority, this laugh of the scoffer, which could be discerned in the cautious and Christian-like speeches of the incorrigible rationalist, exasperated Luther to the utmost. We can believe his story in which he tells us that, of all the controversial writings directed against him, he had

read only those of Erasmus to a finish, but at the reading he often felt like flinging them under his seat. With all the earnest severity of which he was capable he then wrote his book,—“*De servo arbitrio*” (of the enslaved will), certainly one of his greatest literary achievements. While Erasmus only reluctantly said something which he could not recant or at least modify, a world conception presented itself here against the skepticism of the Renaissance which, if it had not ruled the Church, had been ruling the masses for many centuries. “In spite of the cautious semi-pelagianism of the prevailing religious system,” so judged Ritschl, “the sentiment of the people since the early Middle Ages has been deterministic and predestinistic.”

We have had the opportunity of getting acquainted with the different forms in which this sentiment was manifested, whose consequences could be varied, even contrary. Luther, far from criticising the divine world rulership or wishing to restrict the omnipotence of God in favor of his creatures, only contrasted the infinite sovereignty with the unconditional dependence and powerlessness of man, and he did it without lamenting this condition. It was the nominalistic God in all his inexorable majesty, as He formerly looked upon the soul conflicts of the young monks; if Luther sought to modify somewhat this inflexibility by his distinction between a double divine will, a revealed and a

hidden God, he entangled himself, as Ritschl had shown, in the contradictions of a double conception, whose mixing of a scholastic and a reformatory element did not present a real entity.

A radical stroke was the negation of every freedom of will except with God. He alone works everything in all things, in the godless, and even in the devil. He made Pharaoh's heart stubborn and wished the death of the sinner. The human will, however, stands like a beast of burden between God and the devil, incapable of choosing the one or the other rider; may God or the devil mount the beast, it only goes wherever the rider wants it to go. This simile of a man "ridden" by a higher power contained nothing disturbing to Luther, any more than the same conviction could weigh down a Zwingli or a Calvin; on the contrary, he would not even desire to possess a free will and felt far safer in the hands of God, whose illimitable power alone could raise him above the shortcomings of his own weakness. The solution, however, of the gruesome riddle,—why God nullified the wicked will in one man, and let it work to his damnation in another who certainly could not help it,—must be reserved for a future world to understand.

One might describe the book of the enslaved will as a letter of renunciation of reformation in favor of Humanism. Luther, in fact did refer to Homer and Virgil on several occasions when speaking of

the perceptions of the ancients regarding fate and the inexorable goddesses of fate; but at the same time he vigorously defended himself against the alleged antique virtue which had only sprung from love for glory and was the most wicked sin before God. He made the assertion that, from a contemplation of the outer course of the world and its countless dissonances, human reason had to draw the inevitable conclusion that either there exists no divine justice or no God.

Pico della Mirandola had preached enthusiastically of a human recognition of the order of the world, simultaneously of great beauty and need, and as the free builder and artisan of himself. He had praised man as happy, who could after his own judgment exalt himself to the godlike or descend to the animal. It was necessary to break entirely and absolutely with this world conception of a self-conscious aristocracy of the mind, replete with the beautiful, if the poor and the small, the distressed consciences and those deficient in this life were to obtain justice.

CHAPTER XII

THE STRUGGLE OF MATERIAL INTERESTS

BEHIND every intellectual struggle, material interests hide themselves as soon as it seizes the masses and begins to assume a visible form. Besides the Church movements, there were other things over which the German blood became heated in those days. Peaceful and forcible attempts at a reorganization of the empire, communistic and dynastic endeavors, foreign wars and tremendous social upheavals accompanied and influenced the course of the Reformation. In the face of all protests, ecclesiastic and worldly matters blended and interfered with each other. "This evangelism," complained Luther, "goes into the common man well, and they take it carnally." Not only among the common people but in higher spheres the ecclesiastical revolution had to release, in addition to the religious thoughts and passions, still other questions, in the settling of which the modern religious tinting may have appeared quite useful.

Its venerable hue diffused the secularization desires and agrarian revolutionary plans which were striding forward with the retinue of the new doctrine, as well as the struggle of the threatened hierarchy for its privileges. The name of God and the words of the Holy Scriptures were here as well as there indispensable legitimations for all human activity and aspiration, which produced, however, many flagrant contradictions and a demoralizing, new, sham being. The bad fruit of such crises matures infinitely quicker than the wholesome one.

In the emotional spectacle which presented the struggle of political and social forces, the religious and heroic figure of a Luther gradually dwindles. Though necessarily it has governed the last section of our description, we are not able to shut out the fact that this great man, wholly abandoning himself in the struggle for his and all his fellow creatures' eternal salvation, was able to contemplate the things of this world and the future of his Fatherland with childlike simplicity, but not with the penetrating eye of the statesman. He lived in the firm conviction that the various conflicts of the present were only the preliminaries of the imminent day of reckoning, that "any hour the world's destruction was to be expected." Still, even a political Luther, a man who would have acted in the worldly need of the empire with the same genius and fearlessness as the Reformer did in the great

religious questions, would perhaps have despaired of the solution of the problem.

In the Worms diet the young emperor had met the delegates of the Holy Roman Empire in the full realization of his dignity, with the pronounced intention to abolish the German polygarchy. He declared his acceptance of the Roman crown to be a highly unselfish resolve; through it, he did not wish to extend his domain of power, but he hoped, with the help of his other crowns in the realm, to restore the old grandeur to the empire which, as regarded glory, eminence, power and authority, could not be compared with any other monarchy in the world, but which was at this time esteemed and respected less than the mere shadow of a former period.

It was the well-known language that Maximilian had always used, but it gained another significance from the lips of a sovereign whose domain of power had had an unparalleled extent for centuries, and was for the greater part exempt from every legal or absolute influence of the imperial states. At the same time, it soon became evident that the marked youth of the emperor was by no means tantamount to dependence. As in the Lutheran affair, his personal attitude was virtually the deciding factor of the whole issue, so in purely political questions the states became acquainted with their juvenile sovereign as a votary of strict monarchical

principles, in whose opinion imperialism was a divine ordinance, and every concession to the members of the empire was only an act of grace.

During the dietary session Chièvres, the aged politician whom one had hitherto regarded as the omnipotent man and real regent, died, but his death seemed, according to a comment of Alexander, to have rid the emperor of his "pedagogue" only to place his own intellectual maturity, which was in advance of his age, in a more striking light. In the difficult maze of the inner imperial politics, neither Charles nor his foreign surroundings could find their way without the assistance of the native counselors, Matthaeus Lang and other tools of the Maximilian policy. Quite frequently the same struggle repeated itself as it had been waged between Charles's predecessor and the principals. The régime of 1500 would have withdrawn the highest authority from the head of the empire if it had not fallen immediately. Charles had pledged himself to a formal redemption of the German kingdom by a delegatory committee, but the principals in their project did not bind themselves to the old order of the régime, and tried in many respects to push the emperor into the background. The imperial counter proposals were further removed from the promised renewal of the old order and Charles defended himself with indignation against the attempt to place him under a guardianship like a

minor. An unconditional refusal of the régime could of course not be thought of after he had sworn to the election capitularies. In addition to this he was, in spite of his declaration that he did not wish to fill his coffers from the empire, on the eve of war with France, and the present condition of Spain was doubtlessly dependent upon German assistance. As the ground under his feet burned to return to his patrimonial dominions, it was necessary to establish a well regulated representation of the highest authority in the realm.

At all events Charles gained his most important demand; the new institution was to act during his absence only as "Imp. Mt. Régime of the Empire," and on the other hand, during the presence of the emperor would serve as a council until the diet decided about the manner of their continuance. Thus the emperor had succeeded in giving to the institution a provisional character, besides which he had reserved to himself the coalition prerogative as well as the final decision over lapsed feudal tenure, while the royal members of the régime should be sworn in his name only, without mentioning the empire. Notwithstanding this, there was no question for the time of a victory of the monarchical over the state principle. The fundamental character of a new order remained a federal one. The relation between the head and the principalities of the empire, for whose full sovereignty

the régime was to give a sufficient guarantee, was expressly described as an "agreement, contract, obligation." As a matter of fact, the emperor appointed the governor and four of the twenty-two members, but the preponderance lay with the eighteen other votes, of which one-third was to be allotted to the princes-elect, another to the precincts, and the last one to the sovereign princes, prelates, cities and knights. Only the princes-elect were allowed to reappoint their representatives, this being done by the régime for the other principalities, with the limitation that a small number of states entitled to representation were to be excluded for all time.

In especially important matters the régime could call the princes-elect and the twelve representing princes, and in extreme cases all of the states, that is, the diet. The internal affairs of the empire came under the competency of the régime; the latter had the supervision of the supreme court and highest executive authority, and the very important warrant: "to act on account of aggression against the Christian faith in the empire and also with other Christian authorities."

The régime was to establish its headquarters, together with the supreme court, in Nürnberg for the time being. If we remember that this supreme body, which thenceforward received four imperial and fourteen state assessors, realized both by its

composition and by the supervision of the right of régime an old demand of the states, we gain the impression with Weynken, "that the empire government proper, even if the emperor may have retained many things in principle and form, had been transferred to this régime."

If, however, the states were to prove capable of government, if they could overcome their traditional selfishness and their indifference to the whole, upon this the future of their achievements depended far more than upon the laboriously won paragraph of the order of the régime. The instability of the new creation prompted the princes-elect, upon whom the leading rôle of the régime was incumbent, to renew their old electoral union. At the same time the Suabian federation, which had been "extended" until 1523, began to prepare for a further prolongation, not without a lively participation of the emperor, who would not have missed the staunch support of the Hapsburg policy at any cost.

Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, described as the best guarantee against the prince electoral ruling, desired the Suabian federation in those days. The empire cities especially had every reason to be dissatisfied with their treatment on the part of the higher principals, as we shall see presently in detail. The Frankfort representative voiced the assumption that the régime and supreme court would perhaps not exist very long. We know how infinitely hard

it was to produce money for empire purposes; this time the difficulties which had to be encountered by an adequately financial foundation of the new institution could be foreseen. There was always, as in the time of prince-elect Berthold, "little earnestness and industriousness in the delegates of the empire, from the highest down to the lowest." The reform projects, numerous as they appeared, could be looked upon as failures from the very beginning. In Worms, the idea of an imperial duty met with the most violent resistance of the towns, many of which, like Nürnberg or Worms, could refer to heavy expenses caused by the feuds. However, as a Frankfort man judged quite correctly, "if one wants peace and justice again there must be money." Despite this fact, nobody was willing to make even the most modest sacrifices. The barons and lords roundly declared that they would not pay anything at all, and many princes complained that they were getting nothing out of the empire. That the proposal to retain the moneys going to Rome was not noticed, although the hundred gravamens of the German nation compiled by the diet spoke the language of Luther, was explained perhaps by consideration for the emperor. If one considers that it was a matter of 50,000 guilders yearly revenue for régime and court maintenance, this truly poor estimate was as typical as the violent opposition against the tax. Besides selfishness and niggardli-

ness, the pessimistic conviction may have had its influence, also the belief that with all attempts at reform nothing would be accomplished and the irreparability of the conditions of the state must be endured.

It was fatal for the newly inaugurated reform that, in spite of a certain attention on the part of the lower states of the empire, it did not deny the character of a princely creation, and that the old discord between princes and towns was now harshly displayed by the former. Like Machiavelli on one occasion, an English delegate in Worms judged that the proper strength of Germany lay in the empire cities.

This was undoubtedly correct so far as the financial side was concerned, but matters of international importance, especially of South German capital, could not outweigh the lack of a fixed political situation within the empire. In that domain the preponderance of the principality was already an accomplished fact, and the part of the municipal autonomies as good as extinguished. It ought to have been a serious warning to the empire cities that, since the fifteenth century, the territorial state had gradually prepared to usurp from its country towns the leading rôle in commercial politics, and that in economical matters the victory of the greater over the smaller organisms was secured. But neither the empire nor the princes and lords could

do without the money of the much maligned merchants and speculators. While the town delegates were at first not called to attend the deliberations about the emperor's Rome journey, the higher principals passed, over their heads, an estimate for 20,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 riders. This was finally agreed to when the single members of the empire voted in such a way that the towns could regard themselves as favored, so far as the burden was concerned. To Nürnberg, for instance, was assigned the privilege of maintaining the court and régime, while in the budget for the Rome journey, a somewhat higher tax was demanded from the princes-elect.

In addition to the almost hostile attitude between the princes and the towns, there was dissension prevailing among the lower nobility of the empire which concerned the one as well as the other, and a never-ending series of quarrels between the individual principals. An English reporter noted, among the subjects to be dealt with by the Worms diet, the claims of the electoral Palatinate and the Franconian margraves against Nürnberg, the quarrel of the Brunswick dukes, the affair of the Bavarian dukes concerning the new Palatinate, the disruptions with their towns of the archbishops of Cologne, the bishop of Würzburg, Constance and Bamberg, and wrangles of more than thirty bishops with their temporal lords. A year later the papal

legate Chieregati asserted, not without reason, that the whole of Germany was aflame.

How self-consciously aware of its aim, in comparison with this chaos amongst these representatives of the empire, appeared the policy of the emperor! While still in Worms he had made provision that during his absence he was not to be represented alone by the organs of the imperial constitution. To his younger brother Ferdinand, who shortly afterwards married Anna of Hungary, he gave the five Lower Austrian duchies (April 28), at first only provisionally; and also installed him as governor of the empire régime, an office which should have been conducted by the palsgrave Frederick in place of Ferdinand, as the juvenile Infante of Germany was not yet powerful enough to act. Charles in those days showed his brother the good prospect of raising Austria to a kingdom, whereby these hereditary lands would have occupied a separate position, not beside but above the empire. Purely dynastic also was the procedure with Württemberg; the inexorable ban upon Duke Ulrich, Henry of Lüneburg, and on the bishop of Hildesheim; the harsh manner in which Charles rejected representations on the part of the régime about the Hildesheim affair as an encroachment upon "his business"; all this could not leave the princes in any doubt what the opponents of the "noble house of Austria" had to expect in the future. The prince-elect of Branden-

burg, despite his zeal in the Lutheran affair, received a reminder when the emperor transferred his possessions as imperial tenures to the duke of Pomerania, who had pledged himself to take tenures from Brandenburg only. It was with a great effort that Joachim could be restrained from fighting Pomerania, while the execution of the imperial ban against Lüneburg and Hildesheim plunged Lower Saxony once more into a furious feud.

What those imperial phrases of the restoration of the power and honor of the empire really signified showed itself in 1521, when Charles nullified the lord-tenancy of the bishop of Lübeck over Holstein in order to give them to his brother-in-law, the king of Denmark, when he mediated an armistice between Poland and the German Order. The traditions of Maximilian's policy here partly served the young Hapsburger as a guide, inasmuch as his great struggle for the hegemony of Europe left him no time to look to the East and North. Connected with this, one must take into consideration that the discomforts and danger of traveling placed the German and northern districts, to a monarch residing in Spain, still farther away, so that his representatives in the empire sometimes did not hear from him for months. The natural center of his world empire did not lie in Germany.

But if one had wished to ascribe to the emperor the intention to prevent the empire régime from

being constituted at all and to paralyze its effectiveness, the supposition would be contradicted by certain facts. To his aunt Margaretha, who refused to send a representative for Burgundy to Nürnberg, and to pay her share for the maintenance of the régime and supreme court, he seriously declared that a dissolution of these institutions would mean for him a grave loss of honor and prestige. On the contrary, it was the opposition of the towns which from the very beginning stifled the life of the régime. We must, in order to appreciate the violent clash of the princely empire reform with the municipal power of capital, again note the tremendous social fermentation of those days.

In their hatred of the merchants and perhaps their "usury," almost all non-commercial elements of the nation had long been unanimous; theologians and jurists pronounced their judgments of condemnation from a scientific point of view, while the anger of the lesser people as well as of the noble lords, had a sturdy echo in the popular literature. At the bottom of it was the old ascetic idealism of the Middle Ages which was perpetuated in the utterances even of the leading minds, such as Luther, Zwingli and Hutten. Erasmus called the merchants the most squalid of all classes of humanity.

Quite particularly was this sentiment directed, and with justification, against the "Fuggerei" of the great commercial companies, whose monopolistic

and conscienceless transactions engaged not only public opinion but the laws of the empire and territories. The Cologne diet of 1512 had interdicted the great commercial houses and companies, at the penalty of confiscation, from buying up single lots of merchandise and afterwards, in monopolistic style, fixing the price at "their pleasure." In the committee diet of the Austrian hereditary lands in Innsbruck, in 1518, various measures were proposed for the protection of "the common merchant and tradesman" against the oppressive power of the foreign (South German) companies, which would have placed all necessary commodities of life,—silver, copper, steel, iron, linen, sugar, spices, grain, cattle, wine, meat, lard, tallow, leather, etc.—into their sole hands. Finally Charles had to promise the removal of the great companies in his election capitularies.

That this rise in prices was to a certain extent produced artificially, but largely through the much-praised blessing of the German mining enterprises, was not foreseen. The fundamental conception of the time would have refused to regard, as the cause of shortcomings for which a natural explanation presented itself in the clearly recognizable "selfishness" and in the immoral profit mania of single individuals and whole classes, that grace of God which one thought to find only in the original production which, according to Luther's word, "puts

the silver and the gold in the mountains so that we can find it."

But Schmoller also drew attention to the fact that "in the time of the reformation occurred the most loathsome and hateful examples of monopoly rule which resulted in the ruin of whole provinces." Even if the question of a legal monopoly could only be an exceptional one with the German companies, the superiority of large capital made itself felt very forcibly without the assistance of a secured privilege.

That which made living always more difficult in comparison with the past was the declining value of money, the rise in prices of not only luxuries but of the most necessary victuals, the lowering or instability of wages, the growth of interest transactions, and finally, the whole luxury and demoralization of the times,—all this was blamed upon the great trading societies, upon trade as a whole, and upon the towns. None the less, here and there the recognition dawned that the movement could not be checked by state intervention, but as Hans Sachs expressed it, "nobody could resist selfishness, the gruesome animal,"

"Durch gsetz, statut und policey
Haut er der loecher mancherlei."

Nothing was more typical of the tense resentment than the declaration that the open outrages of the

robber barons were a scourge of God, and a just punishment for the usurious merchants. It is not to be wondered at when Hutten broke a lance for his fellow knights and thought the robberies far less serious than those of the merchants, jurists and clergymen. Even Luther who thought a rate of interest 5 to 6 per cent. right and fair, made the sharp comment concerning robberies, "God may whip one knave with the other"; and the Humanist Bebel scoffingly declared that the merchants were under gratitude to the robbers because, through taking the illegally acquired goods from them, the latter made the way to Heaven easier for them.

Such moralizing can be attributed to the political plans of the princely reformers, as well as to the prevailing error that money is identical with wealth, and therefore its exportation should be restricted in every possible way. By the side of the agrarian idealism which would fix the conditions of a past period, the coming mercantile system announced itself. Money was to remain in the country, thus argued the government as well as the oppressed and dissatisfied small man. Everywhere one saw the native wealth flowing into foreign hands. Italy, Denmark, Hungary and England, besides other countries, carried away the native money, and in Germany there were complaints against the import trade from Italy, England and Portugal. "England," said Luther, in writing about commercialism

and usury, "would have less gold if Germany would leave her cloth to her, and the king of Portugal would have less, if we would leave him his spices." He wondered how, after a single Frankfort mess, there could be found a solitary penny: "Frankfort is the silver and gold hole through which floweth from German lands only what oozes and grows and is struck or coined with us." When he regretted that no one had stopped up this hole, it was really not the fault of the German princes and lords who, after the convention of the empire régime, at once prepared to bleed the veins of the German trade as thoroughly as possible.

The slimly attended Nürnberg diet in the spring of 1522 which, called on account of the terrible Turk menace, placed 3,000 foot soldiers at the disposal of the Archduke Ferdinand, brought in various taxation projects in order to create at last an adequate financial endowment for the régime. The common penny could not, according to past experiences, expect any approval. The emperor protested against a Jew tax, while he pleaded with the pope for the retention of the annats and other wind-falls of the curia.

The most important part amongst the projects played was the forecast of an empire duty, to which a grand conception cannot be denied. A century before Nikolaus von Cues had, in his patriotic imagination of a constitution of the empire, em-

phasized the necessity of such revenue from duties. With the general aversion against direct taxes, and with the almost universal conviction of the exorbitant profits of the German merchants, this idea seemed to offer the best solution. As a supplement to the export duty provided by the régime, the emperor had proposed an import duty, which was to exempt absolutely the necessities of life, such as grain, wine, beer, salt, leather, copper, "all animals and beasts," etc., and on the other hand, levy a tax of 4 per cent. of the purchase price on all other merchandise. The projected duty limit comprised the Netherlands, so that Antwerp and Utrecht, like Vienna, Trient, Strasburg, Hamburg and Königsberg, figured as the imperial customs headquarters. Switzerland was excluded, as she would not under any circumstances consent to join, and the same was the case with Prussia, Livonia and Bohemia.

Those northwestern territories were needed on account of the English and Portuguese trade, especially the latter with its doubled, quadrupled and even sextupled prices for spices. This aroused the particular attention of the higher classes, and all the more since they had been informed of the agreements made by a German company with the king of Portugal, according to which he had promised to exact a higher price for such goods from all other Germans. This kind of monopoly transactions which would have been reached by the empire duty

were to receive their final deathblow through further measures. What many people would have preferred as the best method was to abolish totally the great companies and prohibit the trade with Portugal. However, the people were content to uphold for the time the Cologne resolutions of 1512, and leave the subsequent regulation of monopoly matters to a select committee of the principals of the empire, whose expert opinion would allow the trading societies a maximum capital of 50,000 florins. These questions occupied the new diet, which had sat since 1522 in Nürnberg. It is significant enough that in the same assembly which prepared to deal such decisive blows to the wholesale trade and to capital, there was talk of raising a part of the funds against the Turks provisionally through a loan from the societies mentioned. Thus, in the midst of the fight, the opponents admitted the indispensability of that which they had to fight, for,—as Sohm once said,—“A war against the town was in a way tantamount to a war against the money itself, and already money began to loom behind the political horizon as the mightiest of all great powers.”

An open war was begun by the higher empire principals against the towns as a whole, which could not be justly identified with the Augsburg and Nürnberg banking houses and wholesale traders, but which, on the contrary, almost without excep-

tion agreed with the princes in the denunciation of the trading societies and their abuses. But the former, as well as the latter had overreached themselves, and not only the excessive power of trade and capital was paralyzed, but the towns were denied their place among the principals of the empire and consequently lost all privilege of voting in the affairs as an entirety. In the same way that it had begun in Worms it continued in Nürnberg. On the occasion of the debates over the Turkish funds, the municipal delegates received the astounding information that they simply had to sanction the resolutions of the other empire principals, and when they complained, they were told that they never had had a vote in the council of the empire at all, and that if they were sometimes required on the select committees it was done as an act of condescension on the part of the higher principals, and there was no question of a justifiable claim on the part of the towns.

The counselor from electoral Saxony, von Planitz, wrote that it would have been better to give the towns "a more courteous and graceful reply." With incredible shortsightedness, the arrogant lords deprived themselves of the only strong support which their reforms could have found in Germany; they absolutely coerced the towns into uniting themselves more strongly and declining everything that emanated from the princely quarters, although the

majority were not willing to make common cause with the monopolists. If their old and not unwarranted mistrust against princes and nobility of the empire had ever made them play the part of an obstacle in the course of the debates of the diet, and in bolder designs, they now felt the absolute necessity of defending themselves.

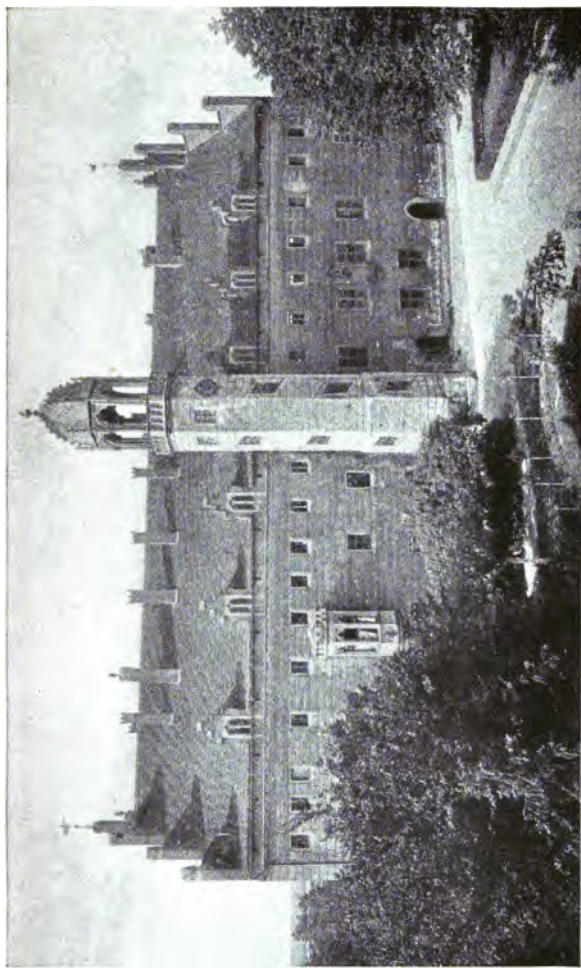
We cannot go into the details of the interesting arguments for and against the empire duty. The supporters of the project were correct in their assertion that the duty would not affect the merchants but the consumers, and wholly incontrovertible was the objection of the towns regarding the abundance of duties within the empire. They believed the German trade would be almost annihilated by the addition of an imperial duty, for how would the great and small lords ever agree to waive their numerous and often hardly acquired duty prerogatives? Only on these terms and with the abolition or marked limitation of the inland duties could the new organization have worked prosperously.

Other principals besides the towns were "melancholically meditating about the duty," as Planitz expressed himself. Leonhard von Eck, the Bavarian representative, saw in the realization of the project, which would have been solely in favor of the House of Austria, a grave danger to the independence of the princes of the realm and the first step to the introduction of a "Welsh and French

obedience." He hoped, however, that the towns would try to nullify the matter with the emperor, while others feared they could, in an extreme possibility, be driven to an attachment to Switzerland or France.

Eck had foreseen correctly. While the empire committee appealed to the emperor with an urgent request of the majority for sanction, the towns in an assembly at Speyer agreed to the delegation of a committee, which, arrived at Valladolid in August, 1523, and realized its purpose perfectly. The municipal representatives, whose chief complaints were the objection to the empire principalities and the duty, went far enough in their language. They declared only the supreme court to be necessary, regarding the empire régime as superfluous. It would, in their opinion, be far better to elect a Roman king, to wit: the brother of the emperor. But the imperial counselors were not afraid to state that the emperor was not favorable to the "hated" duty project, nor to the régime, and that he placed his whole confidence in the towns, from which he naturally expected strong financial support.

Finally a formal consent of the emperor was issued that the duty should be abolished, and nothing should be done in regard to the trading societies and monopolies without his sanction: he had no intention to restrict trade. The delegation



Monastery of St. Augustine at Wittenberg where Luther resided, and which the Elector had given to him.
"Reconstructed" in 1873.

was not called upon to work for the monopolies but the article in the Speyer resolutions was caused by Augsburg to be forged and perverted, contrary to its meaning. However, it could not be said that the significant turn in the emperor's policy had been induced by similar objectionable means, perhaps through bribing the imperial counselors. It would have been suicidal on the part of the emperor, who was in constant distress with wars and finances, if he had repudiated the South German money magnates, his old friends in need, in order to help promote aspirations and institutions which had arisen and maintained themselves against his will.

We know with what insolence, but with what justification Jakob Fugger reminded the emperor at this time of his services during election. The finances of the House of Austria had not improved in 1519. Hereditary Duke Ferdinand could not even raise the 1500 florins which he had to pay for his patrimonial dominion and Württemberg toward the maintenance of the régime and court. Nearly all rents and revenues in these countries had been mortgaged, and of the 60,000 ducats which his brother had advanced him on Naples, not more than 4,000 could be produced, after much effort and distress. The emperor, to make matters worse, could never extricate himself from the most terrible financial embarrassments following the beginning

of the French war. By the end of 1521, all that he had raked together from the contributions of the Netherland provinces, through the looting of Chièvres estate, and through loans, was spent, and the tax duty for two years in advance was used. To Sickingen alone Charles owed 100,000 florins, to the Duke Georg of Saxony, together with the latter's brother, 200,000 florins; from all sides came duns and threats. The imperial governor Frederick, though sympathetic for Hapsburg, declared that if forced to the extreme he would quit the régime and renounce Charles altogether. This government contemplated starting a war of life and death with the Augsburg Fuggers and their like. Even the well-founded complaints which had reached the emperor from papal headquarters about the Church attitude of the most prominent towns,—Nürnberg, Augsburg and Strasburg,—could not disturb the prevailing harmony. As a matter of fact, the delegates had the assumption to play the surprised and indignant part which admitted the zeal of the common man for the Bible and the evangelism, but denied that for years a single letter of Lutheran teachings had been printed with them; the towns were not the adherents and defendants of Luther.

We now touch a second and highly important part of the Nürnberg debates,—the attitude of the empire régime and of the principals toward the religious question. Here at least the princely empire

reform had been, although shortlived, of a decisive significance.

The Worms edict had met the same treatment as the many resolutions issued by the empire and emperor before and after it. The publication and, still more, the execution was dependent upon the good-will of the individual principalities. In the territories of the prince-elect Joachim, of the Duke Georg, of the Archduke Ferdinand, and of the Bavarian dukes, the edict was promulgated in time, while even many ecclesiastical princes conducted the matter so slowly that, for instance, the town of Bremen could declare, in December, 1522, that it had not seen the edict against Luther. In towns like Nürnberg, Augsburg and Ulm the council resolved, in the autumn of 1521, to publish the edict, but meanwhile it was earnestly obeyed; while in Constance, as we have seen, the publication was forcibly prevented. The Strasburg council was induced only after some effort to hand over the imperial prohibition against the Lutheran books to the printers and proper officials. Special stress was laid upon the religious mandate of the Bavarian dukes, dated March 5, 1522, which added a sovereign promulgation fully in accord with the already published edict. It would not be right, therefore, to place the two Wittelsbachers on a par with so devout a prince as Georg of Saxony or Archduke Ferdi-

nand. On the contrary, in these examples there was a vivid presentation of the coincidence of selfish, worldly motives and the treatment of Church questions.

The dukes reckoned upon the favor of the emperor as well as upon the inclination of the curia, in order to enhance their position in the empire, to obtain pensions and the chapter of Eichstaett for their younger brother Ernest, and to draw the Bavarian monasteries more under their supervision. As little as Eberli was entitled to monopolize the "pious Bavarian lords" as patrons of the evangelical movement, there could be noticed in them a particular religious interest, in the strict sense of the Church. Far more than Luther's false doctrine did his sallies against the rulers, and the whole revolutionary feature of the innovation seem to have influenced the dukes. Besides this, one should observe the exceedingly ambiguous attitude of the German prelate, the prince-elect of Mainz, who still maintained relations with Luther, and who was regarded by many observers as leaning toward secularization. There was not yet any question of a great inspired defensive struggle with the old Church sentiments on the part of the principals, while on the other hand, none of the recognized authorities dared to confess themselves openly opposed to the last imperial resolution, and as evangelical in their views.

Thus, from the beginning, the attitude of the régime and the diet could not be anticipated. It made a certain difference perhaps whether Duke Georg or Prince Frederick was personally present in Nürnberg; at least, the former accomplished the grant of a régime mandate in which the bishops of Nürnberg, Meissen and Merseburg were exhorted to take decisive steps against the Wittenberg innovation. One of the most businesslike and conscientious German princes was the "always stanch imperialistic" Albertiner, who was, at the same time, an educated and devout man. He corresponded with Erasmus and thought him the right David to overthrow the Goliath Luther and afterwards, through his superior cleverness to calm the storm. When finally Erasmus differed with Luther, Georg presented him, as a real Saxon, with a cup of honor. At first the zealous reform duke, into whose mind it never entered to palliate the crying abuses and especially the grave guilt of the ecclesiastical heads, had displayed great pleasure in the Theses of the Wittenberg monk, but as soon as the movement seemed to him to become revolutionary, or "Hussitic," he became his violent opponent. Still, in 1521, he tried to explain to his Ernestinian cousins the obvious affinity between the Bohemian revolution and the doings of the new evangelists. Some of them had already progressed to the denial of immortality. During his presence in the régime

he had sharp altercations with the representative of electoral Saxony, the versatile and fearless knight Hans von der Planitz, until, as the latter reported, "even the Rhine was on fire," and the angry duke regretted to the other's face having such a country fellow. Georg even wanted to blame the decline of his mines upon the new doctrine, although Planitz drew his attention to the faulty organization of the mining enterprises. Georg continued to insist that the adversaries of the Church always brought mishap and poverty. The reminiscences of the Hussitic period would not leave his mind; Prince-elect Frederick had to defend himself against a comparison with the heretic King Podiebrad, while the "loose and reckless man" Carlstadt and "the young little man" Melanchthon were, in Georg's opinion, worse than all the Bohemians; though, he admitted, Luther could sing charmingly, he stung with a venomous tail like the scorpion.

Georg had to give up his seat in the régime unless he succeeded in turning the excitement caused by Luther's return to Wittenberg into energetic measures, but even when he sent a new writing of the heretic to Nürnberg, in which the régime itself was coarsely assailed, nothing occurred. Soon after that, in the summer of 1522, the indomitable duke produced a new proof of Luther's uncontrollable freedom of speech, in the book against Henry of England, in which not only this royal theologian but

the emperor was soundly abused. Then came that wonderful reply of the régime in which one can see that it had been composed in the presence of Prince-elect Frederick. "One had," it said in the laconic letter of August 16, "understood, that to the Duke of papal Holiness and Imperial Mt. abuse was averse, and one would Imp. Mt. abuse and harm wherever we experience or see same not willingly tolerate, as to warn your Love and Grace and to avert same we are no less obliged and inclined."

With such discreditable tricks one could hardly hope to succeed after Luther's name had been associated with that of the turbulent Sickingen, and after the curia itself had offered its hand to all German friends of a constitutional church reform, with greater sincerity than ever before. The last non-Italian pope, Adrian VI, took it upon himself to restore the world, which had got out of joint, not perhaps in an overestimate of his power, but because he deemed it his duty in the sublime office that had been forced upon him.

This Netherland theologian could not be called a German, not even in the sense in which the Groningen Agrikola and the Rotterdam Erasmus could speak of *Germania nostra*. Adrian, the son of a Utrecht citizen, had for the whole of his life remained a stranger to Germany proper. Professor and chancellor of the University of Loewen, tutor of princes at the court of Brussels and Hapsburg

diplomat in Spain, where as grand inquisitor of Aragon and inquisitor general of the whole of the empire, he could count the victims of his inexorable judgments by the thousands, he had devoted his best power at first to scholastic theology, then to the Burgundy dynasty, and finally, as Maurenbrecher says, "identified himself with his whole energy with Spanish ecclesiastics." His ideal of a church reform was not the Erasmian one, but bore the traces of that fiery zeal of creed that Adrian experienced in the surroundings of the powerful cardinal Jimenez. But nobody could accuse a man of curialistic sentiments who, as a cardinal and as a professor, dared to antagonize emphatically the new doctrine of the personal infallibility of the pope.

When, to his and all the world's surprise, he was elected as the successor of Leo X, January 9, 1522, he undertook to govern according to his inmost conviction. His journey was preceded by the revocation of all reservations and expectancies conferred without papal sanction; immediately before his entry into the eternal city he took from the members of the secret collegiate their right of asylum, and when asked to grant his pardon to a murderer he replied that he would do what was right though the world went down. Nothing can present more strikingly the contrast of the cultural elements struggling in the Rome of those days than a glance at the fantastic scenes which the appalling plague then

raging produced. Before the arrival of the pope a Greek conjurer had led a steer through the streets and offered it as a sacrifice in the antique manner, in the Colosseum, to pacify the demon; Adrian was met by a picture of the Madonna, which was accompanied by 500 naked children flagellating themselves.

The lower middle class habits of the pope, who gave out every evening the sole ducat for the following day, the pedantries of the old professor, his abomination of the "images of the heathens" put up in the Vatican, his ignorance of Italian, his Netherlandish surrounding,—all this repelled the Romans, who had at first received him with joy and veneration. He who would have liked best to study and write in a quiet private home, instead of working in the palace, soon saw himself entangled in a daily, helpless struggle with the Rome of his predecessor; educated and uneducated people scoffed at the unpleasant "barbarian" whose strict moral conduct did not offer anything else for them to do than to invent the fiction of a secret life of vice,—for him who, in his first consistory, had reproached the cardinals for their toleration of the Roman vices. He treated these proud lords of the Church "like an abbot treats his monks"; 6,000 ducats' income appeared to him who "dined like a poor village parson" sufficient for their subsistence, for he did not realize that, for instance, one single

fish at a banquet cost the cardinal Grimani no less than eighteen ducats. Even towards his own relatives, as Jovis said, he was "unnaturally boorish, hard and unliberal." What could be expected by the musicians and poets, by the stablemen and numerous other parasites of the Vatican household, whom he dismissed in numbers? What could be looked for in the future by the prebend hunters flocking thither from the whole of Christendom? No wonder that on a certain occasion one of these was on the point of raising his stiletto against him.

It can hardly be said that Adrian was isolated in his reform plans amongst the hierarchy of Rome. Even men like Alexander felt that something had to be done, at least to remove the worst offenses. At the welcome of the pope the deacon of the sacred college,—the Spaniard Caroajal,—had demanded a reform of the Church so that it might no longer show the exterior of a sinful fellowship. Cardinal and Augustinian General Egidio von Viterbo gave the pope a detailed record which branded the abuses of the distribution of prebends, the bloodsucking practices of the dataria, and the excess of indulgences. This was done with an acrimoniousness that reminded one of the complaints of the German nation. The "unmeasured authority of distribution" meant Egidio, who developed an excessive liking for sin, however, when Adrian prepared to purify the indulgences of their canker, when he

wished to restrict the profitable marriage prohibits and simplify the financial and legal organization of the curia, when he nullified all expectancies conferred by Leo X. Then the practical politicians of the college of cardinals came to him, pointing to his empty cashbox and the indispensability of the much-maligned resources. Like the reform of the curia, so all other projects of this Church prince, who was inspired by the best intentions, were to prove impossible of accomplishment. It was certainly a tempting idea, as Hoefler said, to change Rome into a great intellectual army camp and to make it the center of the ecclesiastical reform movement. This was embodied in the advice of Erasmus, who always wished to see the settlement of the Church quarrel intrusted to an assembly of dignified and dispassionate scientists. But Erasmus not only declined the invitation to go to Rome, but refused to write against Luther.

On the whole, there was a wide gulf between the views of a quondam grand inquisitor and his Humanistic advisers; and Erasmus, or Vives, whether considering a convention of learned men or a general council, always desired to hear as little of dogmatic explanations as of forcible means. Vives complained in his letter to the pope that no one on either side wanted improvement, but the destruction of the opponent was desired; Erasmus replied that if it was a question of manslaughter his advice

was not needed at all. Adrian, however, had embodied in his programme the extermination of the heretics, as well as the reform of the ecclesiastical abuses, peace among the Christian powers and the great Turkish war. Luther should fall, so that the pope could realize undisturbed, his reformation of the Church on head and members. That was the essential purport of the papal application with which his nuncio, the bishop of Teramo, Francesco Chiericati (Chiericati), who coincided with him in his sentiments, confronted the Nürnberg diet. Cardinal Soderini, an astute Florentine, was not so wrong if he really, as Sarpi tells us, tried to persuade the pope of the uselessness of every offer of reform; the means which he is said to have recommended, however, the crusade against the heretics, was equally hopeless.

With the utmost harshness Adrian outlined his plan in opposition to the modern Mahommed, in the breve to the principals of the empire, by requesting them to mete out the fate of Huss and Hieronymus of Prague to Luther, after the "holy and glorious" example of their ancestors. Far stronger was the language of an exhortative letter addressed to the prince-elect Frederick, in which the pious pope poured the vial of his wrath upon Luther, this "miserable wretch who constantly talks in his drink and drunkenness and preaches a life of bestial riotousness," but also upon the prince-elect

himself, whom he reproached for having persecuted the Church worse than Saul himself; he not only threatened him with the divine retribution, but with the swords of the apostles and of the emperor.

However, Chierigati, after he had informed the archduke Ferdinand, who was present in Nürnberg, in secret audience, of his master's intentions, was careful not to mention the name of Luther at his first appearance before the empire assembly; while to Planitz he was full of praise concerning the prince-elect Frederick, as well as the beginnings of Luther, whom he would, had he stopped at the same, have revered like a god. Planitz replied to this courtesy by denying every communication of his prince-elect with Luther since the Worms diet, and recommending the Erasmian idea of an understanding amongst the most learned men over the best solution of the Church quarrel.

Immediately after this, Chierigati demanded of the diet the extermination of the Lutheran heresy, but he was gradual in bringing the full tenor of his instruction to the knowledge of the assembled principals. This contained an open confession of the sins of the papacy which did honor to the inexorable adherence to truth by Adrian VI. The German heresy was described as the divine punishment for the sins of man, especially of the priests and prelates. "We know well that on this sacred seat has been perpetrated many an abominable thing

for many a year, abuse in ecclesiastical matters, transgressing of the commandments and that every thing has changed to the contrary. No wonder therefore if the disease has gone from the head into the members, from the popes into other, lower prelates. All of us, that is, prelates and clergymen, have deviated from the right path and it is a long time since anyone has done some good, not one single one." For the reformation promised by Adrian and for the pledge of a strict observance of the concordats formerly concluded with the princes, the nuncio demanded in return the hitherto postponed execution of the Worms edict.

Roman ignorance of German conditions had once more gone astray. In an assembly, the majority of which was imbued with the ecclesiastical reform ideas, the candid admission of the prevailing corruption from the lips of a venerable pope known to be deeply religious, must have made the profoundest impression. In Nürnberg, however, the nuncio did find an ecclesiastical majority, but these gentlemen abandoned themselves with amazing unconcern to all worldly pleasures. "They say," he reported, "they were princes and when they went to a dance, the clerical duties were suspended."

Alexander shortly afterwards condemned the admission of guilt as a policy of absolute failure, which would only make the Lutherans still more spiteful and the remaining Germans offended.

While the clergy were vexed over the papal indiscretions, the nuncio exasperated the Lutherans by his unfounded accusations leveled against the Nürnberg predicants. He demanded their immediate arrest and caused a storm of indignation in the town which nearly led to a riot. As to the prevailing popular sentiment, the delegate could not be in doubt any longer. "Luther's cause," so he wrote to the marcountess of Mantua, "had taken such deep root that a thousand men could not uproot them." Archduke Ferdinand reported to his brother, almost in the same words, that the teachings of Luther were so rooted in the whole of the empire that among a thousand persons not one was free from them. Or, as a German prelate expressed himself, "it would not help anything, even if Luther and his prince-elect with him would be burned to death, for wherever three people were standing together, two of them at least were Lutherans."

This obvious unrest could not remain without influence upon the resolutions of the principality delegates, whose attention was at the same time diverted by the war begun by Sickingen, as well as by the quarrels between the princes and the towns. In the régime conditions had not changed in favor of Luther. Besides the young governor, Archduke Ferdinand and Cardinal Matthæus von Salzburg, the hotheaded prince-elect of Brandenburg, particu-

larly represented in person the cause of the Church. He knew how to tell all sorts of things about Luther's derogation of the Holy Communion to a mere "figura," and his denial of Mary's virginity. In spite of this no decision was reached, either in the régime or the diet, regarding the execution of the Worms diet. But a committee was selected to deliberate over the answer to be made to the papal request, consisting of four clergymen, with the archbishop of Salzburg at the head, and four worldlies, among them a knightly jurist, the Franconian Hans von Schwarzenberg, whose superior personality could hold its own against Matthaeus Lang and Christoph Stadion. He was a knight who not only towered above the majority of his social companions by his colossal figure and physical strength, but after a strenuous youth the former hero of the tilt yard and the banquet resolutely sprang into the intellectual arena as a Bamberg private tutor. As he had paved the way of Bamberg's criminal code to the famous "painful" court order which, in 1532, appeared under the name of Charles V, so shone his name in the popular literature of his time which he, as "German uneducated phantast," following the practical trend in his nature, enriched with instructive poems and versions of several moralizing writings of Cicero.

This truly noble man, who fought with word and deed the "murder vice of robbing," felt impelled to

communicate his best thoughts and feelings, his classical as well as his biblical studies, (which were begun long before Luther), his doubts of the Trinity and concerning the question moving the whole world, freedom of the will and predestination, which he sought to solve in a different sense from Luther. We find him corresponding with the latter in 1522 on the points of the new teaching, the picture question and the relation of the evangelism to the worldly sword, which the jurist and politician did not regard the same as did the Reformer. How the genius and will of Schwarzenberg succeeded in the committee to nullify the chief demand of the pope, unfortunately nothing definite is known.

The verdict of the select committee welcomed the papal promises with the expression of highest appreciation, but declined every execution of the Worms resolutions, affirming that all forceful means as such would have the appearance of a suppression of the evangelical truth and consequently of the daily threatening revolution. The only remedy of the committee was the calling of a free Christian council which should meet in a German town with full equal rights for the clergy and the laity. In return it was to be demanded that Luther and his adherents should not publish any more seditious or provocative writings, and the preachers should teach nothing but the right evangelism, after

sound Christian understanding. The supervision of the press and sermons, as well as the punishment of married priests and resigning monks was left to the ecclesiastical authorities (January 14, 1523). The complaints of the worldly principals were handed to the nuncio.

In the grand committee of the empire principals there remained numerous objections. The clergymen who, as Planitz wrote, "want to be looked upon as pious, just and immaculate as though they have never even troubled water," secured the striking out of a sentence which repeated the guilt confession of the papal instruction, and the demand of unconditional silence by Luther and his adherents. Their orderly jurisdiction had been already guaranteed by the verdict of the select committee. On the other hand they could not carry through the preaching of the evangelism according to the interpretation of the four Church fathers, and finally all agreed to the ambiguous clause: according to the teaching and explanation of proved writings, accepted by the Christian Church. The deciding point was and always remained the repudiation of the Worms edict, and the demand to present the Luther affair to a council, despite the judgment pronounced long before. It was a compromise in which the lion's share fell to the evangelists, and Ranke may well have described these Nürnberg resolutions as the "direct opposite of the Worms ones," although

his conception that the régime had placed itself at the head of the national movement was not the correct one. For with the majority of the régime as well as of the principals, those concessions to the evangelistic tendency were probably the result of the fear of a terrible outbreak of the people's passions.

Great was the advantage afforded by the postponement of the decision of the Reformation. Each ensuing year meant an incalculable gain for the young movement, whose gradual strengthening and taking root made the task of a future suppression more and more difficult. One can understand the indignant but useless protest of the nuncio against the resolutions, which were published in March, 1523, as an imperial edict. Such an assault upon pope and emperor and the honor of the empire, as Chiericati expressed himself, would have been hardly thinkable in Charles V's presence, although pope and emperor in those days were, so far as matters of a great policy were concerned, anything but one in heart and soul. It was a remarkable linking of circumstances which did not create for the Lutheran cause an official promotion on the part of the imperial authorities, but yet was a protection against direct outrage. Charles V was almost entirely absorbed in his tremendous struggle with France, and the pious Adrian occupied with purely political questions, did not find time to think

much about German heresy. Moreover, the empire régime had to suffer far more seriously from the rising of the discontented knighthood than from the religious conflicts.

While the principality was experimenting with its new empire government and the towns, far removed from any tendencies for a sweeping reorganization, sought with the greatest efforts to maintain their disputed position, the lower nobility, whose deep resentment had by no means been a secret, resorted to open hostility. Those wild forces, which for many decades had been squandered in the small feuds against the community, threatened under a leader like Sickingen to overturn the whole order of the empire. We know the economical and military roots of a decay to which "barons, lords and those of noble rank," and the various degrees of the landed aristocracy capable of bearing arms, apparently were slowly but surely doomed. A pitiable picture of the material wants of these circles presents itself to us when, for instance, we remember why a considerable part of the landed Bavarian nobility was not able to follow the ducal call to arms in 1525; there were knights each without a horse, nobles who possessed only a farmer's cottage, who had to attend to their domestic and agricultural affairs themselves with wife and children, and were obliged to keep house on fourteen guilders

out of an annual income of twenty-five guilders. Of those who obeyed the call, a great many were sent home on account of the lack of equipment and armor.

These small lords of the soil had formerly, like the towns, struggled for independence from the empire and had organized their own leagues in order to guard their interests. Still, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Bavarian League of the Lion had inflicted a serious blow upon the sovereignty of the dukes, but since then these old knight federations had disappeared, and in most territories the middle and lower aristocracy contented themselves with maintaining a certain independence in relation to the sovereign prince within the limits of the state federation. In the Suabian federation, which originally had grown out of a union of the nobility association of St. Georgenschild with the neighboring towns, a part of the South German "barons, freeholders, lords, knights and foot soldiers" came under the sheltering roof of a larger political organization, while their less fortunate companions in Franconia and on the Rhine could boast of their tenures and refer to their ancient exemption from duty taxes, but were only able to meet the more and more powerful aggressions of the princely authorities with fruitless claims and complaints. A formulation of the same which, in the year 1523, was laid before the diet, gives us a

clear perception of the various levers which were set in motion by the principality. Through an extension of the territorial jurisdiction and impeding the right to appeal, through the foreign formulas of the Roman law, through alterations in the practices in feudal tenures, and bringing the subjects of the nobility into the participation of the state taxes, it was sought to oppress the lords and knights. Often it may have been sheer impossibility for the poor noble to gain his rights in opposition to one of the "Mighties," or princes. When, however, Emperor Maximilian, in 1517, wanted to help the free nobility through the institution of a coöperative fellowship of law procedure, and in return for this tried to impose a formal obligation for the abolition of the eternal disturbances of the peace, the so-called "hedge hunting," then the knights found the imperial proposition difficult and superfluous. "The right moment," said Ullmann, "once missed, did not return." It was a monstrous imputation that a class continuously shouted about outrages and protection for its rights and, instead of putting an end to the most atrocious acts of its own members, sought to excuse them as "a lawful self-defense."

Properly considered, behind all these complaints and all this incorrigibility was as Jakob Burckhardt once said: "the perception of the world from the castle on the mountain." In a great part of

Italy, in England, in France and in the Netherlands, the nobility either personally managed their estates or fearlessly devoted themselves to trade and financial transactions.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL-POLITICAL IDEAS AND ASPIRATIONS

WHAT a contrast between the life of a Venetian noble, or an honest English country squire, and the wretched existence of a Franconian knight who, disguised in a peasant's smock, lay in wait behind the bushes for the merchants, or in the seclusion of his forest-bound castle heard the "dear fellows"—the wolves—howl! Goetz von Berlichingen had shouted this greeting to them when he once saw the beasts breaking into a herd of sheep. With cynical relish he told of the commencement of a feud, a "business," as he expressed it: "Now I am not going to hide before anyone that I intended also to become an enemy to those of Nürnberg. I turned the matter over in my mind and thought: 'You have yet to have a quarrel with the parson, the bishop of Bamberg, so that those of Nürnberg may also be drawn into the game.' " And Goetz was harmless in comparison with a beast like the chopper-off of hands, Hans Thomas von Absberg. It is true that Goetz

found pleasure in having his prisoners put up their hands to be hacked off and then let the horror-stricken people run, after he had treated them with murderous blows and kicks. But the markish robber barons went so far in their bestiality as to mutilate women and girls. The whole horrible ferocity of this band can be grasped in the notorious instruction of an aristocratic dame, the Mrs. Agathe Odheimer, to the foot soldiers: "Whenever a merchant does not do what he has promised you, then chop his hands and feet off and leave him lying there."

We are looking into a veritable pit of hellishness, traces of which showed even in Hutten when he, with shocking gusto, imagined to himself the maltreatment of a defenseless opponent. Was it not Hutten who, on one occasion, attacked three abbots on the open highway and robbed the Strasburg Carthusians, whose prior had insulted his portrait, of 2,000 guilders? Erasmus even asserted that Hutten had cut off the ears of two monk preachers. The knightly Humanist, despite his classical studies, insisted upon the class prejudice which managed to interpret a mostly involuntary simplicity of living as the old German way, and highway robbery as a "horseman's sport," or at least as a manly and by no means dishonorable vice.

Besides the rough habits of those "brought up in armor," we sometimes come across some congenial, patriarchal traits, as in Baron Wernher von Zim-

mern, who left to his son the admonition to love his poor people and not to beat a servant, or in that Franconian knight of the Hussitic times who prayed every day for the peasants, as well as for his parents, because they were supporting him by their work. However, such fine examples are dwarfed beside the insolent fellows of the stirrup, who went after their "saddlefood" and added insult to injury.

"Ruten, roven det en is gheyn schande,
Dat doynt die besten van dem lande."

In Westphalia and South Germany rang the mad tune of the "doctrine of the nobleman," and other songs in which the fresh and free youths on horseback enjoyed themselves. The game which was hunted in the green forest was the "peasant," the pepperbag, the bird who was singing in the ring-wall, and with frivolous jests one risked a "little hat filled with flesh," that is, one's own head.

"Wir haben uns eins vermessen
in dem edlen Frankenland:
die paurn die wellen uns fressen
den adel wolbekant,
das well gott nit verhängen.
wir wellens fuerbass sprengen,
recht wie die sew besengen,
so oft uns das gebuert,
biss schopf den galgen ruert."

These degenerate nobles distinguished themselves from common criminals only by their inalienable

pride of birth and their arms. They liked to trace their pedigrees back to the legendary pagan times, if not to the Trojans, or at least to Roman origin, and the Franks especially indulged in the consciousness of "appearing already in their name as of a noble, chivalrous and liberal mind." "You know very well," it was said in a dialogue between a fox and a wolf, "how wolves, whom our parents have brought up from childhood in all roguery, have never defended us, whether it was friend or foe whom we attacked; from such habits we have made a prescribed law, (I must talk juristically of this), and never sincerely respected anyone of them. Whoever did not wish to subject himself to such attacks and fights were called the 'rogues of the woods.' They thought everything we see in the fields was our privilege to rob, as though we had received it from the emperor as a tenure."

The grounds upon which, in all seriousness, the wealth and luxury of the citizens looked to such poor starving wretches as an unjustified and offensive encroachment upon a just law, are shown by the publicly made complaint that, through the exaggerated dress of the city women, the prestige and even the eligibility of the aristocratic misses in the marriage market would be impaired, when they should rightfully stand an equal chance with the former.

That a movement like Humanism was indifferent

to this aristocratic body seems obvious enough, and furthermore, only a few prominent and talented men like Hutten, Eitelwolf von Stein, Schwarzenberg, and the Austrian Herberstein, knew how to elevate themselves above the intellectual vapidity of their class companions on horseback, the "cyclops and centaurs."

Quite different was the effect of Luther's antagonism to the ecclesiastical authorities, and his appeal to their consciences. Here the uneducated could argue, and soon went forth the great call of the Reformer to the Christian nobility of the German nation, to whom, as a trustworthy ally, he poured out his heart concerning all that seemed to him to need improvement, not only what related to the parsons, but also to the jurists and merchants. That the evangelistic teaching did not promote the knightly custom of abandoning one's sword was evident. On the contrary, one now frequently found an opportunity to devote his often misused strength in the service of a great cause. When Sickingen and Schauenburg had freed Luther from the fear of man by their offer of protection, the bold rebel spoke to the emperor and the pope in a language whose tone must have penetrated their very souls. In the dedication of his writing of the confession (June 1, 1521), which was addressed to Sickingen as his "particular patron and master," he cited the conquest of Canaan, in which the Lord

smote all the people, as a comparison with the struggle against the hardened hierarchy. "Now they have time to change what can, nor shall, nor will not be liked nor tolerated in them; if they do not change somebody else will, without their gratitude, not like Luther in letters and words, but teach them by deeds." After his return from the Wartburg castle, in an epistle to Hartmut von Kronberg, he denounced the papal "pigs' bladders" and "water bubbles," the "straw and paper tyranny," the holy defiance of the faithful, the "masters and yonkers over death and devil and all sins," and greeted "all our friends in faith, Master Sickingen and Master Ulrich von Hutten, and all the others." "Christ himself," he said, "had come through Hartmut's writings to him, the words of which came from the very bottom of the heart and devoutness." The enthusiastic knight had sent him a few of those open letters through which he thought he could promote the cause of evangelism with the pope, the emperor, the friar orders and the confederates. For instance the emperor, according to Hartmut's proposal, was to try to convince the pope "with the utmost kindness" that he was the governor of the devil, yes, the antichrist himself; but, should the pope not allow himself to be persuaded, one had to use force and with the "anti-Christian possessions, which are now called ecclesiastical possessions," defray the cost of war,—an

idea which we have met already in Hutten and other Humanist leaders. It was a lucky coincidence that the congenial predicant Michael Styfel found a place of refuge with the fervent Kronberg. But a real politician like Sickingen entered the literary arena, or at least lent his name to a writing which had for its purpose the conversion of his brother-in-law to the evangelistic teachings. In those days, (1522), Sickingen seemed at last to listen to the admonitions of his friend Hutten to mete out punishment to the parsons, as the German Ziska, and to rid the churches from the burden of their wealth.

This, however, did not refer to the parsons alone. The attack upon an ecclesiastical prince which Sickingen had already turned over in his mind during the Worms diet, would on the one hand enormously increase the prevailing excitement of the nobility, but on the other hand would appear as a direct threat against the worldly princes. That Sickingen had once dealt roughly with the duke of Lorraine, and particularly with the landgrave of Hesse, was not so easily forgotten. There prevailed in scattered localities, of the North as well as of the South of the empire, a sort of interrupted armistice, rather than an earnest peace between the princes and the knights. The markish nobility had always been quite indifferent. Prince-elect Joachim had begun the fight in the beginning of his reign; he had delivered the aristocratic robbers one by one to

the henchman, and did not allow himself to be intimidated either by the insolent threats of the circles concerned, or by the reproach that he was an enemy of the whole nobility. Here the prince, who was up-to-date in the education and wisdom of the time, could imagine himself to be a creature of a nobler sort, in contrast with an aristocracy which distinguished itself from the peasants only through their privileged position. Yet, in 1542, a number of the "poor, unreasoning nobles" apologized in a petition, "dat wy so mercks schreven; we woldent gerne overlendes schreven und konnes nicht," (that we are writing so "markish"; we should like to write in the highland style, but we cannot do it.) Their ignorance did not prevent these gentlemen from defying the prince-elect wherever there was an opportunity to disturb the peace of the country and to seek alliances with the foreign nobility, as Joachim complained in the diet of 1523. In the South the Suabian federation was the terror of the fellows of the stirrup, and the ruins of the mountain stronghold Hohenkraehen, whose alleged impregnableness vanished in 1512 after a three days' bombardment, was a serious warning to them.

Despite this and the victorious campaigns against Württemberg, a member of the federation, Baron Joachim von Oettingen, was attacked in the year 1520 by the notorious Hans Thomas von Absberg, and wounded to death. The same hero of the high-

ways in 1522 put the town of Nürnberg, the seat of the empire régime, in a sort of siege. Within a fortnight there were three attacks in which three men lost their right hands and several others lay seriously wounded on the scene of conflict. The Frankfurter Fürstenberg, one of the municipal representatives in the régime, left his wagon on the way to Nürnberg, in order to steal through unrecognized, in the company of several tailors. The barons and lords in Suabia made preparations, in defiance of the wishes of the emperor, to resign from the Suabian federation and to found a new league.

Splendid prospects opened to all these small political existences, whose power to harm always gave new strength to their self-consciousness, when a Sickingen unfurled his standards against the "tyranny." But, it must not be thought that the whole knighthood of the empire placed their means at the disposal of the famous ally, when he began the notorious feud against Trier in the summer of 1522. It was, in the first place, a decisive advantage for him that the knighthood on the Middle and Upper Rhine organized itself in a coöperative way, and the assembly at Landau elected him captain of the new "brotherly union." It is significant that the entry of worldly princes and towns was kept open, but not for ecclesiastics. This position would have been, as Ullmann expressed it, very important

for the knight, but only after a successful termination of his war-like undertaking.

Not with Sickingen himself could it be presupposed that he had a well thought-out plan for the reformation of the empire and the Church. To him were attributed all imaginable aims;—he was going to “eat” the princes and princes-elect, erect a Rhine kingdom and a duchy of Franconia, and form a “bunds Schuh” with the discontented, common men. But it can only be asserted that Sickingen, disappointed in the unfortunate termination of his campaign against France, and not compensated by the emperor for his tremendous outlays, was resolved to create for himself a princely position through his own efforts. Furthermore, he was really in sympathy with the new teaching, and thought of “making an opening for the evangelist,” as his cousin Kronberg said. The cause of the evangelism and the punishment of the hardened hierarchy seemed to agree perfectly with his personal interests, and the idea of secularization was in the air. Richard von Greiffenclau, the archbishop of Trier, was one of Luther’s opponents and at the same time a friend of France. So Sickingen dared, in his declaration of war, (August 27, 1522),—which emphatically referred not only to a very slight private cause for the feud, but to other “higher causes,”—to reproach the prince-elect that he had acted “against God, Imp. Mt., and the order

and fairness of the holy empire." On the sleeves of his horsemen was the motto: "O Lord, thy will be done," and the name "Tetragrammaton, that without the Lord's help nothing can be done." The manifesto, composed by the Franciscan Kettenbach, promulgated a holy war, only undertaken for the glory of God and to be conducted with God, and welcomed the foot soldiers of Sickingen as knights of Christ. "My knights" (Sickingen and Hutten), Luther had shortly before written to a friend, "are inspired with such a zeal for evangelism, that they are joyfully prepared to stake all their possessions and their lives for the victory of the same."

Sickingen had brought together a small army by pretending that he was enlisting for the emperor; amongst the captains were various barons, two Fürstenbergs, one Zollern, etc., Rhenish and Franconian knights, and besides a Hutten and Kronberg, notorious fellows like Hans Thomas von Rosenberg. Without waiting for the promised reënforcements from the North of Germany and the Netherlands, he threw himself upon the Trier territory; the quick surrender of the little town St. Wendel seemed a promising beginning, and Sickingen talked to the captured lords, in the joy of his heart, of his intention to make himself prince-elect of Trier. While, however, the archbishop of Mainz, among whose adherents Sickingen had more than one sympathizer, left his fellow-prince elect in the lurch,

Richard von Greiffenclau, a valiant gentleman, had come to an understanding with his union friends of electoral Palatine and Hesse, and had taken into his own hands the defense of his chief town. It stood the arch chapter in good stead that Richard, in spite of his ecclesiastical office, liked to ride in armor and knew something of artillery. With his own hand he raised the torch against the cloister St. Maximin, whose fortified position outside the town could be of advantage for the enemy; the citizens of Trier, the peasants of the neighborhood, even the clergymen gathered in arms around their leader, who was determined to hold the town to the last man.

It was a peculiar fate that this first attempt of popular evangelical rising collapsed through that secularization of the hierarchy which had been condemned so universally, even on the side of the old Church. Sickingen's forces lay before Trier from the 8th to the 14th of September, without accomplishing anything; his bombardment was vigorously answered by the artillery of the archbishop; his letters which he flung into the town and in which he declared himself a friend of the citizens and an enemy of the parsons, received no attention and the reinforcements did not appear.

So ended the siege, and Sickingen retreated, inflicting terrible devastation and setting fire to everything combustible, after he had scornfully rejected

the offer of peace from the empire régime in the camp, and informed the messenger, that he would make a better law than the imperial régime and nothing could be done by means of letters. But his law, which spoke through rifles and cannon and which he sneeringly preferred to the Nürnberg supreme court law, had not won the case for him. Neither was the plan to enter the imperial service with his troops realized, and while the ailing knight sought shelter and quiet in the Ebernburg castle, the empire régime hastened to put a ban upon him (October 1, 1522).

However, the decision no longer lay with the supreme empire authority. The reaction against Sickingen's revolutionary campaign was led by the three allied princes of Palatine, Trier and Hesse with an autonomous energy, which did not feel under the least obligation to the imperial order and law. Georg von Saxony had advised the régime, in the very beginning of the war, to use the sternest means and especially to "destroy the nests." What the central authority could not accomplish without money and arms, was effected by the three princes and the Suabian federation. In the autumn of 1522, Kronberg, Hartmut's hereditary castle, and a few other burgs were forced to surrender, and following the winter, a "riding war" had been waged against Sickingen, the princes, in the spring of 1523, proceeding to the attack without taking

any notice of the mediating tendencies of the régime. If rumor for a time erroneously led the emperor himself to stand behind Sickingen, the aggressive attitude of the princes pressed the imperial government almost to side with the knights; in November Planitz wrote that if Sickingen was not already in ban, it would not be declared at present until after a hearing. The three princes had even taken the archbishop of Mainz to task because of his promoting the Sickingen feud, and fined him 25,000 florins, without paying any attention to his offer of a legal settlement; how then could a Hartmut von Kronberg make the slightest impression with his offers, which would have to satisfy Turks, Jews, heathens, and even hell?

Sickingen had been reminded by a faithful friend, before the Trier campaign, that a well-known astrologer had warned him of a prelate and of endangering his life and possessions in the twenty-third year. It cannot be said that he supinely awaited the attack. In his rejection of a compromise offered by the governor and the diet, he is said to have declared himself to be the bearer of a divine mission and a scourge of God to the clergy. Still his preparations were by no means sufficient, and even amongst the knighthood he could not induce energetic action in his favor, despite the tremendous excitement. The efforts of Kronberg and others in Bohemia, whose proximity since the

Hussitic war was felt to be a constant menace, and which had shown itself anew in the Landstuhl hereditary war, remained as good as fruitless, and Sickingen appeared to have called in vain for assistance in France.

Suddenly he saw himself, at the end of April, 1523, surrounded in his stronghold, Landstuhl, by the main army of the three princes. Landgrave Philip, filled with thoughts of revenge against his old oppressor, was everywhere in the front ranks, wearing his battered uniform of the foot soldiers. Sickingen, who had led his campaign with new weapons, infantry and artillery, relied upon the position and fortifications of his castle. On the first day of the bombardment, the big tower with its walls twenty feet thick, was battered into ruins. A few days later a shell struck close to the lord of the castle himself, and a piece from a shattered rafter tore open his whole side. The mortally wounded man had to listen from afar, in a shot-proof, dark vault in the rocks, to the work of destruction which, with the "unchristian shooting" of the opponents, was rapidly nearing its completion. "Although the rocks have struck me a little," he wrote with his own hand to a trusted friend, still hoping, "it does not do me any harm." Soon, however, he knew that he could not reckon upon any help and that he himself should not be the prince's prisoner for long. He is said, as Butze

reported, to have prayed constantly to God not to let him undertake anything wrongful, but should it so happen, to wipe him from the earth. Instead of needlessly sacrificing his faithful people, he resolved to capitulate. On the 7th of May the princely victors approached the lair of the dying man, who at the sight of his old liege lord, the palsgrave, reverently uncovered his head and tried to raise himself. The palsgrave stopped him with a friendly gesture, while Archbishop Richard and, according to many reports, also the young landgrave, made the solemn hour still harder for the stricken man through their reproaches. Sickingen's old defiance flamed up once more when he gave his answer: "There could be much said about this; there is nothing without a cause."

Shortly after the princes had left the vault, the once dreaded warrior died, only forty-two years old. The stars had prophesied great things for him in the hour of his birth. A prince's or king's crown did not seem to be unattainable and that spirited verse, the opening words of which "Franz is my name, Franz I am, and Franz I remain," sounded so thrillingly promising that it was said in the end, "now wait who will be emperor in a year." Princely luxury had surrounded him in his Ebernburg castle. Now his body was squeezed into an old box and, accompanied by a few people, laid to rest in Landstuhl.

Sickingen's personality and fate have something tragical in that we see a highly gifted nature, eager for new ideas, and yet working for the revival of a dead world. It must be said that the fundamental trait of his nature was not an unselfish devotion to the cause of the lower nobility, but a steadily growing ambition, which finally thought to find the effective stepping-stone for his rise in the knightly and the religious movement. Nothing was more wrong in this calculating partisan, in this knight who rose from a condottière, and was as well versed in large financial transactions as any "pepperbag," than to act as a German Ziska and an "executor of justice."

There was nothing of the fiery fanaticism, nothing of the ancient grim heroism, of the Czech national hero. It only characterized the unsatisfied national yearning for a hero that, for a time in certain circles, Sickingen's memory was perpetuated as the patron of the poor man and as the pioneer of evangelism; both in those days seemed to be synonymous with necessity. Hutten, far more than Sickingen, possessed the great passion of a revolutionary leader, but he lacked the practical talent without which even the most intellectual enthusiast is powerless in the political and warlike requirements of a fermenting period. Thus the political idea which Hutten zealously represented in those critical days was a decisive failure.



**Francis I. of France in the midst of his family.
Miniature in the Prayer Book of Francis I., Berlin.**



In former times a coalition of the towns and the lower aristocracy, such as was occasionally contemplated by the emperors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, would perhaps have guided the development of German statecraft into other channels. Now an offer of alliance to the town politicians on the part of their former deadly enemies who, in unison with the hated princes in the diet, stormed against the culpable wealth and luxury as not commensurate with the social standing of the citizens,—was less acceptable than ever before. As a matter of fact, Hutten's "Admonition to the Free and Empire Cities of the German Nation" struck a tone which could not fail to be sympathetic to the towns. He did not forget the princely tyranny and its wolfish hunger, the attitude of the empire régime as hostile to Luther and the new tax duties, in his description of the common enemy. But this proclamation, which was liable to lead the pious towns to the side of the nobility in the field, against scorn, derision and harm of the German nation, lacked the inspiring fire of his previous "complaint and admonition." One feels that a burden of bitter reminiscences was only suppressed, not removed. When it said at the close that the admonition was sent over the wine from the free Frankish land to all good Christians, the qualification may not have roused great confidence. The same purpose was to serve a "Praktika," composed by Ketten-

bach, which predicted for the empire cities, in case they did not accept the alliance, their subjugation by the united princes and nobles. Here reference was made with the deepest contempt to the "poor child Carola, called Roman emperor"; "he is an emperor, but his magistrates govern," and the latter, the princes, it was asserted, had become fools.

Luther, whose name had to serve as sponsor for this pamphlet, had indulged in a far more scathing judgment over the princes; one cannot be surprised, therefore, that he was accused by the opposing party of being in harmony with Sickingen. However, after 1523, there was a comment from Melanchthon who, in the name of his friend, condemned the "shameful robberies" of the knight and lamented them as a serious drawback to the evangelistic cause. Luther himself saw in the doom of the man, who had previously supported him in his dark hours with his strong arm, a just but wonderful retribution of God. Many of the towns must have regarded with mingled feelings the new victory of their princely adversaries; however, Sickingen's offer of a friendly union in the Speyer diet had met with no success, and one preferred to apply to the Suabian federation for a united defense against the duty project. "As an entirety," said Ullmann, with full justification, "the free and empire cities could not go with them the same way, not even for a single moment, in harmony, as long as the knightly

agitation did not change their aims." And finally, in regard to the reproach that Sickingen had thought of "making the mob rise," that is, to give his assistance to the discontented peasants, there was no foundation at all, except in that previously mentioned call of the "Neukarsthans." In Sickingen's life full of vicissitudes, which often showed that it was hardly any more in touch with the old ideals of knighthood, there came always to the surface a chivalrous sentiment, with never a democratic trait.

The work of the allied princes was supplemented by the campaign which the Suabian federation opened against the Franconian knighthood. The prolongation of the federation had been effected in March, 1522, and the execution against Hans Thomas von Absberg and his fellows, in other words, against all Franconian nobles who did not appear before the federal court and answer the charges, was resolved upon shortly after. In vain did the threatened knights seek refuge in a higher appeal to the régime and the supreme court; the federation did not countenance this, and had, after a meeting in Nördlingen in June, 1523, an army of over 13,000 men march into Franconia. This was in face of the advice of the régime, whose laudable protection of justice was essentially impaired through the more than evil reputation of those whom they wished to protect. If in a preceding year the knighthood of the margrave declared that

the cause of the nobles, prosecuted by the federation, was their own, and every assistance against fellow-companions was unnatural, the well-deserved punishment not only hit the chief culprit now, but many of his ilk. The heroes of the highway dared make no resistance at all. In the course of a few weeks, twenty-three castles were laid in ashes, and on the 17th of July the victorious army entered Nürnberg under the very eyes of the régime whose impotence had become evident before all the world. Absberg, however, who had taken good care of his person, was able for years to indulge in his nefarious doings and render the highway unsafe with his faithful companions, the "Little Fritzlein," the "Little Brother," "Reithaenslein," "Schaf-nickel," and other jailbirds, until the Nürnburgers, who were exasperated beyond endurance, had him murdered in his sleep by a Jewish innkeeper. The knightly anarchy received its deathblow through Sickingen's fall and through the energetic cleaning up of the Franconian provinces. In a highly drastic manner the precarious predicament of the humiliated knights was described in a "dialogue between the fox and the wolf," telling where and how the two parties could keep and feed themselves during the winter; "whither through the hedges so thinbellied?" asked the wolf, as representative of the Franconian knighthood, of his Sickingen companion, the fox. Nobody wanted

to shelter them and they did not know where to go, so they decided to roam on together "through bush and hedges," and wait until "the eagles and lions" (the princes) became again favorable to them, and would protect them against the "peasants" (the towns). Even a prince like Casimir of Brandenburg, the sworn enemy of the Nürnbergers, whom one reproached because of intimate relations with the knights, did not think himself safe for a time against the revenge of the Suabian federation, and felt, as Eck wrote to the Bavarian duke Wilhelm, "forlorn wherever he was."

In this overthrow of the knightly revolutionist party Ulrich von Hutten had been doomed. Long before Sickingen's fall he had left the "homes of justice" a sick man, more than ever dependent upon the friendship of others, and now facing the most bitter experiences. A brilliant offer of the king of France was declined. This his former patron Erasmus certainly would not have done in a similar situation. He received the compromising visit of the refugee with cold courtesy, and saw with pleasure how the restless man went from Basel to Mühlhausen, where he had to save himself from the fanaticism of the adherents of the old creed until, in Zurich, the noble Zwingli took care of the lonely, hounded man. Meanwhile, his literary feud had started with Erasmus, who in an open letter tried

to extenuate his behavior towards Hutten, and at the same time formally renounced Luther. The fact that he warned the former of every polemic, with the remark that one would, in Hutten's present position, construe such a step as an attempt at blackmail, must have filled his cup to overflowing. The "challenge" of the man who was still prepared to fight aimed to expose the narrow-mindedness and egotism of the great Humanist, while Erasmus in his reply, "The sponge against Hutten's aspersions," really allowed the most ignoble traits of his nature to come unrestrainedly to the surface. After such sacrilege against his own majesty nothing was sacred to him, not even misfortune. He dared to characterize his opponent as a man who, impoverished through his own fault, had turned to highway robbery, but did not spurn literary blackmail and had exploited the name of a Lutheran in order to find shelter and food. Perhaps the reason why he was so courageous was that he had nothing more to lose. Still more cruelly Erasmus talked, in a letter to Melanchthon, about the "braggart with the loathsome disease who was stripped of all means," who had tried to find a comfortable shelter with him. Clear to Zurich the dying man was persecuted by the hate of the aged scientist, for truly Hutten was nearing his end, little as his spirit felt conquered through privations and physical sufferings, which Zwingli did his ut-

most to soothe and cure. In the late summer of 1523, the chivalrous fighter and sufferer died, on the island of Ufenau, aged thirty-five years. "He left," so reported Zwingli, "nothing at all of value; books he did not possess, neither furniture, except a pen."

Not as one in despair had the bold man passed away; "Germany," he wrote shortly before his death, "would not endure me in her present state, but this shall, so I hope, soon be gloriously different through the expulsion of the tyrants." A writing, "In tyrannos," was the last product of his pen. Eoban Hesse, to whom he sent it, was careful not to trust such a dangerous legacy to publicity. It seemed to have been the fate of the lonely man to realize to the full the estrangement from his quondam friends, and the wide gulf that had opened between him and the Wittenbergers. Almost cut off from all communication with Germany, treated by Zwingli, Oekolampadius and Blarer with the highest respect, he did not learn of the little esteem and bitterness with which Melanchthon spoke of him as an unauthorized and dishonest advocate of Luther. "Us strike the evil consequences, while that man perhaps does himself well in common beer houses." Thus one judged in Wittenberg concerning the man whose mind Luther once had wished to acknowledge as his equal.

Strauss and others laid much stress upon the

fact that in Hutten's last letters there was much talk of "Fortuna" and that the "Christian-theologian color which had descended upon him," had vanished again; but in the writing against Erasmus as well as in his petition to the Zurich council, the knight confessed himself with the greatest emphasis to be an adherent of the cause of Christ, and "his incontrovertible word and evangeli." But the evangelic or Lutheran cause, as Melanchthon correctly surmised, was with him not coincident with Luther's doctrine. By Lutherans he understood all advocates of the truth and defenders of the Christian freedom, and in this sense he could boast to have begun the fight before Luther, in his assault upon the teachings of men and the tyranny of the Roman papacy. That rapidly vanishing life was devoted to the service of a great idea, the liberation of Germany from the Roman priest rule, and Hutten had, like a true knight, been faithful to his ideal unto death. His Humanistic admirer Camererius compared him with Demosthenes, who only lacked the outward power to save Greece from the subjugation by Philip. Thus in Germany, if Hutten could have controlled a force proportionate with his mind and will, the revolution would have broken out at that time and the whole scheme of existing conditions would have been totally transformed. The knightly movement did produce one change,—the collapse of the hardly established régime whose ab-

solute powerlessness had now been proved as obviously as possible. "For every force in the world," said Ranke, "it is a misfortune not to have for itself great successes." It then practically ceases to be a force, or at least to be thought such.

The empire régime had not been able to subjugate the knights, or to protect them against forcible prosecution, nor prevent the renewal of the Hildesheim feud. It had against itself the towns, the Suabian federation, and a number of princes, for Georg of Saxony declared in the summer of 1523 that his further participation in an organization which did not even defend its own members against insults was impossible. Palsgrave Frederick could not be kept in Nürnberg any longer, and the three princes allied against Sickingen rejected as null and void a decision of the régime in favor of the evicted knight Frowin von Hutten, and refused all further obedience on their part. Palsgrave Frederick was not the man for difficult political tasks; he once knew how to enchant the beautiful Infanta Eleonora with "the perpetually smiling eyes," as an accomplished cavalier at the Netherlands court. He now led the gay life of the German princes in Nürnberg, banqueting with the belles of the town and riding in the company of vivacious huntresses to the chase. Naturally his small salary and the failure of the emperor to pay the sums he owed him, made Frederick's position unbearable.

Archduke Ferdinand devoted himself to the business a little more than this forty-year-old hero of the representation during his presence in Nürnberg, in spite of his youth,—“from daybreak until one o'clock in the morning,” he once reported to his brother. But Ferdinand was in the hands of an ambitious and covetous Spaniard, Gabriel Salamanca, who thought with the help of the régime to reach the goal which was in his mind,—the crown of a Roman king. Like the taciturn Charles, so was this excitable and talkative brother filled with the burning ambition to rule. While the victoriously advancing Turks spoiled his prospects in the East, he contemplated making the loss good in the West by the acquisition of the county and duchy of Burgundy. The régime he wished to maintain for the time being, so that Saxony and the Palatinate could not come forth with their claims to the representation of the empire, but he disapproved of the hostile attitude towards the Suabian federation, in a tone which roused the indignation of the régime. The palsgraves, the landgraves, and the bishop of Würzburg had joined the federation; only here was an organization which possessed a certain power and preparedness, and it was very significant that an imperial secretary, in the summer of 1523, could inject into the discussion a project which Charles V tried to realize after his victory over the Schmalkalden federation: that was the expansion of the

Suabian federation to an empire league. It was further evident to Ferdinand, when he had to wait for the new diet which was fixed for Nürnberg in the winter of 1522, that no orderly state of affairs could be established in the empire so long as the régime was preserved in its then state, with its irreconcilable contrast to the Suabian federation.

One may say that the first attempt to lay the foundation of a Spanish rulership in Germany was made in those days. Ferdinand, the favorite of his grandfather, the Catholic king, educated by the knight of the order of Calatrava, a Spanish Dominican, and surrounded by Spanish advisers, was a natural opponent of the "accursed Lutheran sect." During the dietary session he retired for the Easter festivities to a neighboring monastery. The monarchical tendencies which he harshly displayed in his attitude toward the Lower Austrians and Tyrolese succeeded in placing to the account of Salamanca, the "Duke" proper, but his plan, "to govern with powerful authority against all freedom" would have found in the brother of Charles V a docile pupil. One regarded the young gentleman, whose ambitions had been early awakened at the imperial court, at all times with distrustful eyes. Ferdinand himself felt aggrieved that he had to keep the transfers of the German hereditary country (1522) secret for another six years, acting as an apparent deputy of his brother. There was

hardly anything improbable in it when the news was talked about and confirmed by various sides that, at the court of the discontented and aspiring archduke, had been picked up the idea of an acquisition of electoral Saxony. As early as January, 1523, Planitz learned of such projects from no less a person than the prince-elect of Brandenburg. It was, of course, understood that the protection which was to be continued to Luther was the cause of the removal of Frederick the Wise. Planitz reported an utterance of Ferdinand to the effect that, much as he loved his sister (engaged to Johann Frederick), he would rather she should drown at sea than come to Saxony.

However, the closer title of Duke Georg would be in the way of the Austrian designs upon the electoral state, and apart from this he was the real champion against Luther. That he urgently warned even Planitz warrants the conclusion that in the most extreme case he was determined not to let the electorate elude the Saxonian dynasty,—that is, first of all in his own person. Planitz believed, after there had been talk of compromising letters found in the Ebernburg castle, that an interpellation of the prince-elect could not be avoided, and he adjured his master either to dispose the emperor favorably without hurting God, or to bring Luther into safety outside the Saxonian territory and look for allies. He supposed Frederick would not grant a request

for extradition, but "rather permit anything else above this."

In truth, a temporary approach had taken place between electoral Saxony and electoral Brandenburg, but, since a meeting of Joachim with Duke Georg the former was wholly changed. In Rome the punishment of the heretic could only be welcomed with joy, as Pope Clement VII in 1524 brought up the matter of Frederick's removal with the emperor. On the other hand, with our insufficient knowledge of these things, perhaps the assumption may be allowed that the consent of the emperor to such a forcible interference in German affairs could not have been easily obtained. His foreign complications, his dissatisfaction with Ferdinand's government and his mistrust of his brother, must have suggested to him the wish to avoid if possible a renewed grave crisis in Germany. Without his consent, that project could not have been carried out at all. Charles V ordered the delegate whom he sent to the new diet to inform Prince-elect Frederick confidentially that the emperor had resolved, after the death of his grandfather Maximilian, to "take care of his beloved one for the sake of her father and place his trust in her after God." Through an imperial counselor, Balthasar Wolf von Wolfstal, Frederick had been informed of the intrigues at Ferdinand's court and admonished to caution; "it is necessary for Your

Electoral Grace, and more than necessary." Moreover, even Pope Adrian in spite of his sharp language against the prince-elect, had directly approved of a marriage of the emperor's sister with Frederick's nephew.

"I believe truly," Planitz once wrote, "that within many hundred years things have never been stranger in the empire than at present." The strangest spectacle perhaps was presented when the diet was opened in the middle of January, 1524, instead of November, 1523, in Nürnberg. There the principals opposed almost unanimously the régime, which they themselves had obtained from the emperor under pressure, while the archduke and the representative of Charles, Jean Hannart, viscount of Lombeke, strove to establish some sort of scheme for an empire government, and to prevail upon the totally disrupted principalities to give their assistance. But what could it help the régime, for whose protection the old Prince-elect Frederick had roused, regardless of his physical ailments? He used the most confident language in his proposition to the diet, censured the sporadic attendance of the principals, and insisted that it should submit a series of projects and proposals for the restriction of luxury and the monopoly excesses, for the establishment of a unit of weights and measures, for criminal court regulation, and even for a collection of all hitherto

made imperial laws. The vital question, as to how régime and supreme court should be further maintained, had been decided in the beginning by the imperial refusal to grant an empire duty tax, and the attacks of the principals upon the almost universally detested institution followed like blow after blow. The Palatinate, Trier and Hesse, which, in the autumn of 1523, called their representatives from the régime, had made their jurists draw up a writ of complaint containing, with well-assumed indignation, the reproach that they wanted to encroach upon the emperor's sovereignty in order to make the princes appear as the defenders of the interests of emperor and empire, not guarded by the régime. In the most effusive expressions the opinion was expressed that the emperor was not only God's deputy on earth and a living law, but he was an earthly god whose power was only limited by his understanding.

After the princes came the towns; they declared in so many words that the régime, as then constituted, was cumbersome and ruinous. Finally, the prince-elect of the Palatinate demanded the removal of an institution recognized as useless, to which he was no longer willing to sacrifice his claim to the deputation of the empire. The great majority of the principals decided to grant a leave of absence for the régime, without taking any notice of the refusal of Mainz and Saxony. Frederick the Wise

saw those endeavors to establish a fixed oligarchy of principals, for which he had aspired for decades by the side of Prince-elect Berthold, fail ignominiously because of the general want of discipline, and in the month of February he went home. He had his share in the anarchy of this assembly, in spite of his best intentions. There could be no debates for weeks, because there was a dispute between him and Mainz over the prerogative to put resolutions to the vote in the councils of princes-elect. The prudent Netherlander Hannart, who among all the German princes, would attribute real political talent only to the archbishop of Trier, has excellently described this hopeless chaos in the report to his imperial master: "Everyone would like to see the affairs of the empire regulated according to his own taste. All of them demand a régime and justice, but no one will allow that his home and domain of power should be affected through this. Everybody would like to be master and care as little as possible about imperial justice." When the principals declared their strife to be a divine punishment, Hannart thought it was quite justified. He already saw the empire disintegrate into a lot of quarreling alliances of the princes, towns and nobles, and remarked that only extreme need could induce them to ask the emperor with uplifted hands that he as their sovereign should take the business of governing upon himself.

A certain success, however, was attained by the emperor and the House of Austria. When the principals had forced through their suicidal plan of a dissolution of the former régime and had put the burden of half the expenses for the new régime and supreme court upon the emperor, the seat of this mock authority was transferred to Esslingen, in the midst of Austrian territory. But what could this matter by the side of the growing dissatisfaction and disruption of the principalities, which could not be pacified by their victory over the régime? Balthasar Wolf had a right to reproach the archduke that in future he could reckon even less than before upon obedience in the empire. "Hence it is now before our eyes that we Germans and the whole empire are without a leader." Any fidelity the emperor could command, according to Hannart's opinion, was only of the principals with money, while the outstanding debts and unpaid pensions created bad blood. The debt to electoral Saxony (originating from Maximilian's time) amounted to 33,000, that to the palgrave Frederick to 25,000 guilders; the Rhenish princes-elect, Joachim of Brandenburg, Georg of Saxony, Margrave Kasimir, and other princes were still waiting for their promised annuities. Under such circumstances it was quite natural that Charles' old rival Francis I should find the ground again prepared for his intrigues in the empire. We hear of

the French sentiments of the prince-elect of Trier as well as of Joachim of Brandenburg, who quite openly informed the archduke Ferdinand of the terms, after the fulfillment of which he would give up his friendship and the alliance existing at that time with France and be a faithful servant of the emperor. It was said to be true that Francis I had spurred the ambition of the Brandenburger and the palsgrave and agitated for a Roman royal election with the elimination of Archduke Ferdinand. Delegates of the empire cities had expressly asked the French king, on their return journey from Spain, not to make the German towns suffer under his war with the emperor and they had received a most friendly reply.

In the diet Ferdinand and Hannart, not without some effort, crossed the plan of the principals to undertake the mediation for peace between Charles and France. One wanted to place Trier, the old friend of France, at the head of a delegation in which Palsgrave Frederick and Duke Ludwig of Bavaria should participate, and which should go to France first of all. "Neither day nor night," said Ferdinand, in the instruction to a delegate whom he dispatched in June, 1524, to his brother, "does the king of France rest from his machinations not alone in Germany, but also in most of the other empires and territories." Ferdinand, however, availed himself of a description of the sad

plight which he, as a governor, faced, without any authority to recommend most urgently his own elevation to a Roman kingship. If the empire remained without a head much longer, one must expect a Roman king by the grace of France, and an annihilating civil war, for the mighty nation was on the verge—as it were—of committing suicide.

How could such a body politic have found the strength in itself to say the last word in the pending religious question? All the passionate forces of the Nürnberg diet seemed to turn against the régime, while one could not get beyond the stage of temporizing in matters of the Reformation at that time. The new pope, Clement II, had assigned the difficult business of the legation to a former layman and jurist, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi, who was willing to venture upon the unpleasant journey only after a considerable advance of money and the assurance of an annuity for his children in case of his death. The opinions of Alexander for a new envoy to Germany were highly significant; above all, he said, the nuncio should not make a hypocritical face, which was unbearable to the Germans, but neither should he display any haughtiness nor contempt, as Cajetan once did, to whom nothing was good enough; he should carry himself with a certain moderate and affable dignity. Whenever he had reason to fear anything was the time to show the greatest assurance, but without being foolhardy in

doing so. That was the way to win the Germans. Besides this, it was advisable for the nuncio to be ready occasionally with Bible verses, but to mention the Church fathers and the more recent theologians at least by name, after already sufficient reasons of the Scriptures or of common sense had preceded, and to keep all scholastic learnedness in a discreet reserve. A dogma such as that the pope could not commit any sin, should not be voiced before German ears under any circumstances. And, on the whole, there was not one man in Germany who had not been contaminated with hatred against the apostolic chair. The nuncio was also warned against a too frequent and public intercourse with monks.

More seriously sounded the succeeding counsel, in which the punishment of the Lutherans with an iron hand was stated to the pope to be unavoidable, and the excommunication and removal of the prince-elect of Saxony to be the chief object. Furthermore, the printers and booksellers must be looked after, and a list of the German learned men was to be compiled; not that it was advisable to lure them into faith with presents, but the wise nuncio could very well soothe the offended ambition of the literary great ones with flatteries and favors; contempt for such minds had given rise to the Arian and now to the Lutheran heresy. One should do a little more for the Italian scientists, who other-

wise with their mental superiority could become much more dangerous than the Lutherans.

The Romans had not as yet learned much, as we can see, when Campeggi went to Germany. In Augsburg, neither the town council nor the clergy dared to receive him; although for prudent reasons he rode into the town during mealtime, he was sneered at when he gave his blessing. A pamphlet described him afterwards as a strange animal, which one called a "Karnueffel" or "Katzenal, sent from Rome to look around Germany." At his entrance into Nürnberg he waived all ecclesiastical ceremonies; he had been advised "to avoid giving his blessing and making his cross." Hardly had he entered the town when the evangelistic preachers raised their voices; they preached the divine word "more beautifully than ever before," in which there was no sparing the antichrist. The bishop of Bamberg was pursued in the evening with abusive songs; Thomas Murner, who had ventured thither, was called a "Murnarr" and a "Katzenkopf" (cat's-head), and driven around the town by the street Arabs "like a fool." One must not underestimate these expressions of popular sentiment; they certainly contributed to make the principals who were of the old creed more cautious. During the diet the official evangelizing of Nürnberg began to be consummated. In the holy week some omitted the palm consecration, the pictorial presentation of the

holy sepulcher and of the resurrection, and over 4,000 people from the Augustinians, received the Holy Communion in both forms. Among them were members of the régime, while Queen Isabella of Denmark, Charles V and Ferdinand's sister participated in the Communion in like manner, in the castle.

More favorable for Campeggi were matters in the diet, before which he appeared for the first time on March 17. Although the legate quickly dropped the politeness of his first speech, to deny the official presentation of the German gravamens in Rome, and to declare them to be an "exceedingly clumsy," bungling work, containing many heretical sounding articles, yet the majority of the ecclesiastical princes—fifteen against thirteen worldlies—was so much in preponderance that Campeggi could ignore the derision of the principals without injuring his own cause. We can believe that he dropped the supercilious remark that the growth of the Lutheran teaching in Germany perturbed the pope far less than its penetration of the Venetian territory, for the Italians did not abandon anything which they had taken up as easily as did the Germans.

Among the worldlies Archduke Ferdinand and the Bavarian dukes were naturally on the side of those who now thought of carrying through a strict renewal of the Worms resolutions, and "quick mandates" against Luther and his adherents.

Campeggi, it is true, had affirmed at the beginning that he had not come to bring fire and sword, but in spite of this the means adopted by the princes could only lead to the breaking out of a religious war. If not the natural opponents of such a solution, the towns, who had to consider their passionately excited citizens, had done everything against it. The proposal of the princes, they said, would cause with the common people, "much riot, disobedience, manslaughter and bloodshed, yes, a whole destruction."

This was a point of view against which the higher principals did not wish to be obdurate, while the towns, freed from the anxiety of the empire duty tax, threatened with an open protest. It had not come to such segregations of "protesting" principals in those days, but the final decree of the imperial diet of April 18, 1524, in its efforts to reconcile the incompatible elements, went far ahead of the compromise of 1523, and at the same time brought about a change to the disadvantage of evangelicism. The carrying out of the Worms edict was no longer declared to be impossible, and was agreed to by the principals, "as much as was possible to them." But here also figured the demands for a general council, which was to be held in Germany, and by the resolution of a preceding "common assembly of the German nation," the latter was to debate upon and decide what should be done with the council.

In the meantime, the holy gospel and the divine Word should be preached and taught according to the right and true understanding and interpretation of the teachers appointed by the general Church, without any disturbances and provocations. Substantially the same was said in a mandate issued by the governor of the régime, although with sharper comments against Luther.

It was the work of an old church majority, of the Bavarians and the parsons, as Planitz expressed himself. According to his correct judgment, the simple renewal of the Worms edict had been omitted, "not for the sake of the good, but dictated by fear." Embarrassment and fear was evident in those Nürnberg resolutions which preferred to offend the emperor and pope, in order to avoid a revolution. Campeggi was, as can be imagined, greatly dissatisfied. He was going to submit to a new decision what had been decided long before by the see, so that, as the offending motive said: "the good may not be suppressed together with the bad." Willing or unwilling, he promised to speak in favor of the council, but he had to declare the national assembly absolutely unwarrantable and highly dangerous, since laymen were not competent in matters of creed. Furthermore, a heretical majority and consequently "an eternal schism," a continual separation of the German from the other nations, was not in the realm of the impossible. To make matters

worse, the principals had clung to their infamous complaints and their presentation in Rome. However, the shrewd cardinal knew how to counteract his failure in the diet by separate negotiations after the old tactics of the see.

That mutual showing of courtesies by the parsons and the Bavarians, about which Planitz complained, bore its fruits less in Nürnberg than in a convention in Regensburg which was inaugurated by Campeggi. The occasion was the reformation of the customs in the German clergy, instigated by their princes, about which the South German bishops had, in 1522, made arrangements in Mühldorf; but the convocation of the Regensburg convention laid all the emphasis upon a united defense against the dangers threatening from heresy. At the same time with the legate, Archduke Ferdinand invited the South German bishops and the two dukes of Bavaria to participate. In doing this Ferdinand had a personal interest in carrying through the hitherto difficult imposition of a tax granted him in Rome, one-third of the incomes from the Austrian and one-fifth from the neighboring clergymen. This tax, which provided for assistance against the Turks, those "infidel enemies of the right creed," could be used also against the heretics. Hearing this news Eck, as representative of the Bavarian dukes in Rome, was not slow to secure for his masters at least that fifth, besides several favorable conces-

sions regarding monastery supervision, etc., which were only wrested from the see with great effort, and with express reference to the Bavarian religious mandates and the application of the death penalty against heretics. Besides, the Bavarians had, in the face of this, advocated that proposal of a national synod in the diet which was now made illusory, chiefly through the Regensburg assembly, although even there reference had been made to possibly other resolutions of the Speyer assembly.

The agreements of Regensburg (July 6 and 7, 1524), may be described as the first decisive step for the establishment of a formal Catholic party in the empire, even if the projected great league against the adherents of the new creed had not been founded immediately. However, the attempt was made, as Friedensberg said, "to strew sand in the eyes of the world" through the more than modest resolutions, adorned with the name "Reformation," which succeeded in the removal of a number of abuses and touched the lower clergy. Still more significant was the decided stand of the majority of the South German princes on the ecclesiastical question; one quickly forestalled the decision postponed in the final decree of the diet, and maintained the provision to carry out the Worms edict so far as possible, by proposing to punish as heretics all those who infringed upon the same, to prohibit the attendance at the Wittenberg University, ex-

amine all preachers if they were orthodox, exercising the strictest censorship, and institute commissions to ferret out all those who were disobedient. Against insubordination or adversities from outside, mutual support was promised by deed and advice. The latter obligation, however, the Bavarian dukes omitted in their much revised reproduction of the resolutions, and apart from this the bishops, taken in tow by the worldly participants, caused difficulties on account of the encroachment upon their regular jurisdiction. Thus the retarding forces of separate interests weakened this German union, as it did others of those days, but besides the Regensburg assembly, a convention of Suabian principals was held in Leutkirch and similar resolutions were passed. Furthermore, in Regensburg there was thought of asking the attendance of the prince-elect of Mainz, of the Palatinate, and other prominent South German and Middle German princes, and relations were sought with electoral Brandenburg and the archbishop of Bremen.

All this showed the undeniable beginnings of a grand organization of the Catholic principalities. On the other hand, the empire cities saw the need of a closer union. There was talk of a plot to choke all Lutherans in Schlettstadt and Strasburg. Their assembly in Speyer, in July, 1524, resolved not to have anything preached except the "sacred, pure and clear gospel as approved by the apostolic

and biblical Scriptures." In regard to a possible declaration of the ban, on the basis of the Worms edict, an understanding would be reached when the case arose and the Speyer national assembly present would join in advice in matters of religion. In case the other principals were of a different opinion, proceedings could be made with a protest.

Part of the towns agreed in December, at an assembly in Ulm, to mutual support against every attempt to carry out the Worms edict. In a letter to the emperor they repeated the Speyer resolution about preaching, and declared they would not be able to comply with the edict, because their subjects meant to stake their lives upon the divine Word. Touch was kept with the Rhenish barons. A few more North German bishopric towns showed special zeal. In July, 1524, town councilors and citizens in Magdeburg pledged themselves under oath, after the Holy Communion had been administered in both forms, to hold together in all troubles on account of the abolition of mass, and shortly afterwards the people of Bremen fought, not successfully, however, against the foot soldiers of their archbishop.

The citizens of Magdeburg would have been put to the test if the endeavors of Archbishop Albrecht to obtain armed assistance and papal subsidies had not been interrupted by the storm of the Peasants' War. It is true, Clement did not wish to part with

any money, but he requested the German princes to support the archbishop, whom Luther even in those days regarded as a secret patron of his gospel. The pope recommended emphatically the example of the Regensburg convention. In his letter to Albrecht he declared the question was not only concerning the cause of God, but affected the common interest of all principals and lords.

The towns were branded as a continual menace to all authority and as hotbeds of republican and revolutionary sentiments. Politicians like Zevenberghen, Planitz and Leonhard von Eck kept before them the possibility of an alliance of the South German towns with the league.

The pope now made the towns and the prince-elect of Saxony responsible for the result of the Nürnberg diet, and further, for the continuation of all heresy, when he proposed to the emperor to confer, above anything else, the electoral dignity of the Saxonian heretic upon an orthodox prince, and to declare one of the empire cities under ban, "whose mind was always directed upon liberation from the yoke of all obedience, and every foreign sovereignty." The papal chamberlain Rorarius had even discussed with the legate the most effective means of closing the English and Portuguese seaports against the heretical commercial towns. The emperor, however, formed a resolution which could be acceptable neither to the see nor to the empire

cities. Indignant over the Nürnberg final decree, which seemed to him the most daring encroachment upon papal and imperial prerogatives, he prohibited the Speyer national assembly, in an edict of July 15, and enforced the strictest observance of the Worms edict, under penalty of the imperial ban, but he promised the pope to promote the general council. In fact, he had proposed its immediate calling in Rome, and named as the meeting place the town of Trient, because the principals considered this Italian town as belonging to Germany. Before the actual convention of the council, it could be transferred to Rome or anywhere else. The motive for this arrangement is worth noticing. Charles declared to the pope that his interdiction of the Speyer assembly would possibly not be obeyed any more than the Worms edict, and he could not come to the empire for some time in order forcibly to exterminate heresy. Consequently only the course of reason and justice remained open, which was the council. Gattinara had declared in Worms that a solution of the religious question without a council was impossible. But the emperor had, as Maurenbrecher said, made a resolution, "which from now on through almost a generation remained the guiding star and motive of his actions." Yet the idea of this council was to pursue him during the Schmalkalden war; it was undoubtedly easier to battle with the heretics than to carry on a fight

against the intrigues of the deadly enemy of the church parliament,—the papal see.

The German Lutherans were to be secure against any application of force for a long time to come. It is true that Prince-elect Frederick was, shortly after the closing of the diet, enlightened as to the real sentiment of the emperor, against whose final decree his delegate had protested. The nullification of the matrimonial promise between Infanta Katherina and the Saxonian Prince Johann Frederick had been determined long before, but was kept secret from the prince-elect during his abode in Nürnberg; Hannart now came to Torgau with the unpleasant revelation that Katherina had been promised to the young king of Portugal. The imperial policy thought to compensate the discarded bridegroom with the hand of a Polish princess, but the father, Duke Johann, and the uncle Frederick were deeply shocked by such treachery and the "unmerited scorn, derision and disgrace" inflicted upon the whole Saxonian dynasty. It was not the first bitter disappointment which had been inflicted by the House of Hapsburg and now everything combined to make the remaining days of the wise prince-elect darker and gloomier. With growing anxiety he tried to defend himself against the threatening dangers by awkward manifestations of a loyalty in which, naturally, his opponents did not believe.

What could it help when the protector of Luther

kept on repeating, to weariness, that he had never cared for him and his affairs? The rumor that he was in alliance with Mainz and electoral Brandenburg, he wished to be refuted by the archduke himself, whereupon his faithful Planitz explained to him that such a rumor could only be to his advantage, while on the other hand, its refutation would be the strongest encouragement to his aggressive opponents, and those warnings of an attack always returned. In November, 1524, Duke Georg and the archbishop of Mainz asserted that a campaign against Saxony would be launched as soon as peace was concluded with France.

Luther did not relieve the difficult position of the prince-elect in the same way that he carried out his ecclesiastical innovations during these years in Wittenberg, against the emphatic wish of his sovereign. Still more dangerous was the passion with which the Reformer assailed in his writings the princely opponents of his work, a procedure which could not be justified at all. Planitz was not far wrong when he exhibited his "silly opinion" that it would not do any harm to the faith and the happiness of the souls if Doctor Martinus would refrain from his scoffing and abusive expressions against emperor and régime. But this spirit was not to be subdued. When one remembers with what supreme contempt he treated Frederick the Wise, one can hardly be surprised to see him aim his blows in the

course of time not only at ecclesiastical, but also at worldly leaders. It would be well if we could speak only of blows, but it cannot be denied that Luther, indulging in pronounced civic culture, had abundantly pelted his opponents with dirt. Georg of Saxony, the man of the Catholic reform who even in verses antagonized the "lying" evangelists, quite particularly roused his ire. While he was wont in intimate circles to dismiss him as the "Dresden pig," the duke appeared in the public epistle to Kronberg, apart from other objectionable comments, as the "water bubble which with its big belly defies Heaven and wants to eat Christ like the wolf would eat a gnat." Georg was unwise enough to enter into a correspondence over this abuse.

"Cease to rant and to rage against God and Christ instead of minding my affairs, ingracious prince and master." Thus Luther began his answer in which he reproached the duke with lying calumny, and repeated once more the epithet "water bubble." He signed himself as "Martinus Luther, by the Grace of God Evangelist at Wittenberg." Still worse did he treat King Henry of England who had, as is well known, intervened in the religious controversy. Among other things, he had described the heretic as a "lost sheep which was sticking in the belly of the devil and from here set up an ugly bellow."

We see that neither of the opponents was embar-

rassed by any lack of forcible expression, but what did this signify against the fearful abuses of Luther in his reply? He was not content to call the king an impudent liar and to compare him with a prostitute. "If a king of England," so he exclaimed to him, "dares to spit out his insolent lies, then I am fully justified in joyfully ramming them down his throat again, for with them he blasphemes all my Christian dogmas and smears his dirt upon the crown of my king of all honors, namely Christ, whose teaching I possess."

Yet if such excuses could always be traced to the heat of the controversy and to personal exasperation, those writings in which Luther commented about his relation to the state as a whole and to the empire in particular must have had a directly revolutionary effect, as here the princes were condemned as an entirety and there imminent punishment was announced.

Nothing was more remarkable than the sharp contrast in the language in Luther's writing (1523) dedicated to Duke Johann of Saxony, "of the worldly authority, and to what extent one owes one's obedience to it." With the greatest resolution it advocated the dogma that the authorities were the state of the order of God, and every attempt to govern the world according to the gospel and without any forcible means would be offensive to the Scriptures as well as to all sensible reason. But, on

the other hand, a limitation was fixed to the authority of the state as soon as the question became one about matters of creed and eternal happiness. Here the law that one had to obey God before man counted. Moreover, Luther wished to admit the duty of only passive resistance, to wicked imputations of the tyrants; he intended nothing less than to preach the revolution, and to attempt to prove how excellently the two would go together, "that you do justice both to the realm of God and to the realm of the world." And yet with what a ruthless hand he uncovered the shortcomings of reality and the unscrupulousness of the governing classes, which mocked all divine and human right! He did not precisely declare it to be impossible that a prince could be at the same time a Christian, but it was a great rarity. "You should know," he wrote after the manner of his great enemy Erasmus, "that from the world's beginning a clever prince is always a sort of a rare bird, and rarer still a religious one. They commonly are the greatest fools or the most wicked knaves on earth, therefore one has always to expect the worst from them and little good. These henchmen and pillory masters of God understand nothing else but to torment the poor man and vent their mischievous spirit upon the divine Word; such people were formerly called knaves, now one has to call them Christian obedient princes. But God is beguiling them and wants to

make an end with them like with the ecclesiastical squires. For the common man is becoming sensible and the princely nuisance is powerfully rampant among the mob and the common people. One will not, one cannot suffer by your tyranny and wickedness much longer. Dear princes and lords, now you know what to expect; God will not stand it any longer. It is no more a world as it used to be when you hounded the people like you hounded and chased your game. But if you do much more drawing of the sword, beware that there will not be some one who asks you to sheathe it, not in the name of God."

These incoherent utterances were practically counteracted by the commandment not to resist any evil. Luther gave at the conclusion a fine picture of a Christian prince who was not governed by jurists and law books, who did not depend upon "dead books nor living heads," but only upon God. He would like to preserve the privilege to him "to disregard with liberal understanding all booklaws," using his own judgment. Besides this patriarchal ideal there was the conception of the prince as the servant of his subjects, and the demand that he "should not think the land and the people are mine, but I am for the land and the people."

The conclusions which can be drawn from the sentence that one should obey God more than man, had not escaped him. He admitted it to be possible

that the Christian-like Samson could draw the sword for his own cause and for the punishment of evil, but nobody should follow this dangerous example, "except he be a right Christian and full of spirit." In quite unequivocal expressions in his "faithful admonition to all Christians to hold aloof from sedition and revolt," he had censured every forcible self-help, as the application of forcible means was only warranted to the authorities, and under no condition whatever to the masses, the indiscriminating "Mr. Omnes." "All who understand my teaching in the right sense," he said, "cause no sedition, they have not learned this from me. I side and I will always side with that part which suffers sedition like unrighteous cause always has it; and I will be against that part which causes sedition as righteous cause always has it." One could not express himself more clearly about the unconditional objectionableness of every revolutionary movement.

However, one who wrote in this strain should not have discussed before "Mr. Omnes," and in his language, the incredible deterioration of the ecclesiastical and worldly authorities. The radical sentiment of his period and his own temperament had misled the Reformer into committing the same error into which Geiler von Kaisersberg and other true sons of the medieval Church had fallen before him. They too had thought themselves justified in revealing with a rigid adherence to truth the terrible

deficiencies of a hierarchy and still demanding the old respect from the lay world.

But the word is often the deed in such times of tremendous excitement; the light is seized by the storm, the spark is cast into the accumulated inflammable tinder and the devouring flame leaps forth. Why should not the deep contempt with which Luther spoke of ecclesiastical and worldly heads remind the people of the old complaints and prophecies about the wholly corrupted "Heads"? It was nothing new and contained too much truth when he described the princes as selfish oppressors of the people and reckless men of pleasure; it corresponded to the long prevailing embitterment against the jurists when he placed "the right of love and nature" above all law books, which "only make you more confused, the more you ponder over them." But for Luther to publish that writing of worldly authority in the midst of the troublous times of the knight movement, would have been, on the one hand, welcome to Sickingen and his friends but, on the other hand, a proof to the opponents of the Reformation of his supposed alliance with the knights. And with what rage he assailed, in 1524, the Nürnberg final decree! "Two imperial unagreed and repulsive Commandments concerning Luther." Thus rang out the title of a pamphlet which printed the Worms edict and the new resolutions by the side of each other and, touching upon

the obvious contradictions, represented the emperor and the princes as liars. "God made me, as I see, deal not with sensible people, but German beasts are to kill me; do I deserve to be killed by wolves and sows?"

Especially did it rouse Luther's anger "how the wretched mortal maggot bag, the emperor, who is in danger of his life every minute, is bragging impudently he was the real supreme guardian of Christian faith." But the reckoning of God with the "drunken and mad princes is already close at hand. What do you want, dear masters? God is too clever for you, he has soon made fools of you, so he is also powerful enough to make' an end of you." Part of his rhyme was,—*deposuit potentes de sede* (St. Luke 1, 52; that is meant for you, also now when you are not aware).

With the call not to war or to do anything against the Turks, who were ten times more clever and more pious than the German princes, he joined the request that all pious Christians should with him have mercy "with such mad, foolish, unreasoning, raging and insane fools," and the ejaculatory prayer "God deliver us from them and give us other regents. Amen."

Thus only should Luther have written if he was determined to set himself up as the leader of a revolution. That he credited the German people with listening to such language of passion from the

lips of their "Evangelist" and "Elijah," and yet not allowing themselves to be carried beyond the limits of lawful order, is only explained by his ignorance of the world and the grand one-sidedness which belonged to a nature entirely absorbed and moved by religious interests. Therein lay his greatness as well as his weakness. "Like a dazzled horse," to use his own expression, he sometimes seemed to be storming about, overthrowing and trampling upon everything that came in his way, in his secure consciousness of divine guidance. We must remember that Luther lived wholly in the belief of an absolutely personal fight with the devil, and that he traced every obstacle in the path of his gospel as of satanic origin. The wicked enemy made war upon him in the most diversified shapes and with tools of all description. As he held his own against the master of all temptation by prayer, or perhaps manifested his contempt with a cynical phrase, he thought to be beating down upon "his cursed Majesty" whenever he had dealings with the pope, the bishops, the emperor and princes, Erasmus or the fervent radicals.

Hence we understand his terrible declaration, that he who prays, at the same time curses. "When I say 'Hallowed be thy name,' then I am cursing Erasmus and all those who are against the gospel." It was a very ancient Germanic fighting custom, which we find in the songs of defiance of the foot

soldiers, as well as in the speeches of merciless scorn in the old Norse poetry; "Scorn the hero shall answer with scorn," taught the Edda, and with startling confidence Luther declared his word to be Christ's word and his judgment to be God's judgment, and he did not wish to submit his teaching to the judgment of either man or angel. This perhaps is the boldest personification of Germanic individualism known to history. Luther had once, in a letter to Brenz, used the simile of the fourfold spirit of Elijah (1 Kings, 19), that he had been endowed with Wind, Earthquake and Fire, not that calm and smooth rustle with which the Lord approaches his prophet. Thunder and lightning have to clear the air before the blessing of the harvest can ripen. The Reformer expressed the elementary force of his will as intelligently as the modest conviction that even the most righteous and formidable struggle could only be the forerunner of victory and the fruits of his work.

He never faltered, not even after the storms of the revolution had opened a breach between the hitherto adored hero and the masses of the nation. In the summer of 1524 were seen the slight beginnings of a movement which was to proclaim in flaming letters that the lower classes were not by any means inclined to be content with the "Word" alone. As we have seen, social-political ideas and aspirations had long since formed part of the re-

ligious ferment; under the banner of the gospel the small and oppressed ones rose up against their and God's enemies, against all the "fools and knaves in cowls, stoles and armor."

It is well, before entering upon a more particular history of the Reformation, that we should glance back upon the events of the momentous years immediately preceding the epochal convulsion which, beginning in Germany, may be said to have shaken the whole of Europe.

It was in 1520 that the Reformer published his famous address to the "Christian Nobles of Germany." Some months later this was followed by his treatise, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*. These works were powerfully written, widely circulated, and produced a marked effect upon many minds. With startling boldness Luther attacked not only the abuses of the papacy, and its pretenses to supremacy, but assailed the doctrinal system of the Church of Rome.

The pope could not keep silent under these terrific assaults. He issued a bull against the Reformer and the document, which ordinarily terrified the subject of it, was burned before an assembled crowd of citizens, students and doctors, at the Elster Gate of Wittenberg. According to Ranke, the two papers against which this bull was issued contained the kernel of the whole Reformation.

Germany was shaken as if by an earthquake. Dr.

Eck, who was the chief agent in obtaining the bull, fled in great haste from the city and thereby undoubtedly saved his life. Luther was the hero of the hour.

Charles V having succeeded to the empire convened his first diet of the sovereigns and states at Worms. The diet met at the beginning of 1521. Its proceedings as affecting the Reformer have already been told so fully that they need not be repeated. The peril to Luther on his journey was so great that his friends were sure he would be slain unless means were taken to safeguard him. The reader will recall the attack made upon him by seeming enemies but really friends, and his apparent kidnapping. The plot was arranged by his devoted friend, the elector of Saxony, who lodged the Reformer in the old castle of Wartburg, where he remained for about a year. He assumed the character of a knight and when his beard was grown and he walked abroad it is not probable that a single person whom he met, and who was not in the secret, suspected his identity. In fact, when Luther came out into the world again, many of his old acquaintances and friends refused for months to believe he was actually himself, but thought he was an imposter, masquerading as the Reformer.

Luther had been accustomed to an active, outdoor life, and the confinement and sedentary occupation affected his health. He studied a great deal and

devoted most of his time to the translation of the Scriptures into his native language. This monumental task possesses a vigor and purity of style that have made it a classic of the German language.

As might have been feared, the breakdown of his health somewhat affected the Reformer mentally. He grew morbid and became the victim of queer fancies. He believed implicitly in the personality of the devil, and was sure he sometimes heard him mocking at his elbow. A dark stain is still shown which, according to popular legend, was made by the breaking of a bottle of ink which the enraged Reformer hurled at the Evil One; but, as stated elsewhere, this incident is denied on good authority.

Another more serious charge has been made against Luther. Some of his enemies claimed that he became fond of drink, and there have been those who insisted that they could detect evidence of the weakness in his writings. There are not the slightest grounds for such a charge against a man who, with all his magnificent virtues, did not lack certain failings.

As we have learned and shall learn still further, all sweeping social movements are attended by reaction, violence and often regrettable excesses. When Luther appeared among his fellowmen again and established his identity, he was distressed by the disorders which had sprung up during his retirement. The realization of this roused his lion-like